THE TURN TOWARD PEACE

FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL

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THE TURN TOWARD PEACE

THE TURN TOWARD PEACE

by Florence Brewer Boeckel

EDUCATION DIRECTOR OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR
AUTHOR OF *Between War and Peace*
Through the Gateway, ETC.

New York

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TO *the memory of my father,*
ALBERT BREWER, *because, like*
his ancestor who signed the
Declaration of Independence
at the age of seventy-six, he
possessed such courage and
readiness for the future as are
needed in the world today.

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Foreword

THERE are two errors into which it is easy to fall in connection with the study of the peace movement. The first is the conviction that there is no use working for peace because it cannot possibly be achieved. The second is that there is no use working for peace because it is coming anyway.

Peace is within reach for the first time in history. Instantaneous communication between the responsible heads of governments and simultaneous distribution of information to the people of all nations are now possible. International relations can be watched and guided from day to day. Machinery exists for the peaceful settlement of disputes. There is ready at hand an organized peace movement, capable of concerted action.

Yet the threat of war persists. Men continue emotionally ready for war, for one reason, because, as psychologists point out, war offers an established channel of release for the creative energy and desire for power frustrated by the daily routine of present industrial conditions. Economic rivalries such as have led to war in the past grow more rather than less intense. The amount of money and the number of men devoted to war purposes steadily increase.

What is it that makes possible such parallel development between the forces making for peace and the forces making for war? In the first place, as long as the movement toward peace is to a large extent a negative movement designed to avoid war, it can do

little to weaken the emotional appeal of war. To enlist men's emotions, to engage their spirit of adventure, the peace movement must include within its conscious reach world projects and world plans which will mean progress for all mankind, which can be carried out only when peace is assured, and which alone can solve the economic problems, such as unemployment, that now hamper progress and that have arisen out of the new mechanical world civilization.

In the second place, the machinery of government is heavily weighted on the side of war. Statesmen who recognize the necessity for world peace and seek to promote it work against tremendous odds because of the ever present official influence on the side of preparation for war, and the lack of any adequate machinery of government for carrying out their purposes or means of educating public opinion in support of their plans.

Progress toward peace therefore depends upon organized support by that part of the government which is unofficial, the citizens themselves. Not a single effort of any individual can be spared. Nor can it be foretold what individual's effort may make the difference between peace and war at the next crisis, what votes may put in power a statesman who will turn the tide toward peace, or what example or what words may inspire a leader who will rouse the nations out of an inertia which means war by opening their minds to the possibilities of peace.

F. B. B.

Washington, D. C.
August, 1930.

PART ONE
WHY WE MUST HAVE PEACE

1. The World Today

WAR HAS always been evil, but only today has the evil of war become intolerable. There have long been those who opposed war, but only today have thousands of men and women in all parts of the world organized to put an end to it; only today has it been officially condemned by the governments of the world.

What has brought this problem to a crisis? What are the facts which account for the present determined effort to abolish armed conflicts between nations?

One is that prosperity and progress depend today upon world peace.

Swift communication and machine-run industry have led to specialized production and to mass production, and these have made it necessary for all industrial countries to import raw materials from many parts of the world and to sell their goods in foreign markets. Because it interrupts this vital system of exchange, war today creates general disaster. Both sides lose.

On the spiritual and intellectual plane war has become intolerable, for its inconsistency with the standards and ideals of modern life was brought home by the World War to millions of men and women.

War denies what to modern thought are the fundamental assertions of Christianity. It contradicts everything that democratic government, which has gradually spread its influence throughout the world, stands for. It blocks the progress of the labor movement and of the woman's movement, and of all movements which are based on the value of the individual. It stands out as the last stronghold of the theory of physical force which is gradually being abandoned in every other relationship of life.

War belongs to an age that is past.

Thinking in Terms of the Past

For many years after the earth was known by men of learning to be round, ordinary men continued to insist that it was flat, and no sailors could be found willing to man the ships which might have sailed to rich new lands. Today we know the world is interdependent, and that the progress which world cooperation and the development of the world's resources will make possible is within our reach, yet still we delay to act upon that knowledge. We continue to think in terms of a past of isolated, war-making nations.

How little world interdependence has actually penetrated the consciousness of the average man in this country is very clearly shown in a recent survey of a small community, made to discover in how far its citizens were internationally minded. The summary of the report includes this statement:

The citizens are not conscious of relationship with the rest of the world. The manager of the milk condensing factory and the banker appear to be the only ones realizing such a relationship through activities in their work. . . . The citizens are interested in their own affairs which are local affairs.

Yet what are the facts in regard to these same local affairs? In another study, made for the education department of the National Council for Prevention of War by Mrs. Marjorie H. Garfield, to show in how far the important occupations in the various states depend upon exchange of goods with foreign countries, it is clearly revealed that there is no locality, practically speaking, in this country in which the livelihood of the people is not closely bound up with the activity and prosperity of the people of other parts of the earth, and dependent therefore on the maintenance of peace. As someone else has said, "The raw materials of our work are drawn from the most distant corners of the world, and our very livelihood depends on the ability of distant nations to buy what we produce."

It is sometimes only one item out of many required in a special line of work that has to be imported, but that item may be essential in keeping the industry going. The amount of certain kinds of goods exported may be no more than ten per cent of the total production of such goods, yet the sales in foreign markets make all the difference between keeping factories working or shutting them down, between em-

ployment and unemployment, between good times and bad times.

Peace and Prosperity

In the manufacturing states of the East and Middle West, factories manufacturing metal products depend upon the importation of minerals from Asia Minor, Russia, China, South America, Europe and Canada, and upon the sale of their products to South America, France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, South Africa, Spain, Australia, Japan and China. For the manufacture of cotton goods, products are imported from Egypt, Italy, China, England, Germany, India and the Netherlands. In making woolen goods, materials from China, India, Persia, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, South America, Africa, Russia and Asia Minor are used. As for silk goods, the silk itself must be secured from Japan, China, or Italy, while to finish it tin must be procured in Malaya, Dutch Borneo, or Bolivia. The boot and shoe industry must have an even more diversified list of foreign materials. Few machine industries of any kind could exist if materials needed in perfecting the steel used in making machinery could not be obtained from abroad.

Where agriculture is the main industry of the people there is as great if not greater dependence on international exchange of goods. Materials for fertilizing some of our important crops, for instance cotton which is of vital concern to the people of North Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama,

South Carolina, Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas, come from South America, Germany, Spain, Great Britain and Africa. For wrapping cotton securely, which it is very difficult to do, the most satisfactory material to use is jute bagging, all of which comes from India. A substitute might of course be found but would probably increase the cost and reduce the sale of the cotton. Growers of cotton in 1928 sold nine hundred and thirteen million dollars' worth abroad, and the industries growing out of cotton production which support many people are dependent on foreign markets. Coarse cotton cloth is made from linters and is shipped to the Orient. Meal cake goes to Denmark for cattlefeed. Cottonseed oil is sold in the Orient and in South America.

Producers of wheat, that is, the people of Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Colorado, Washington, and various other states, in 1929 required nineteen and a half million dollars' worth of sisal for binder twine, all of which had to be imported from Mexico. Without it large harvesters must have been discarded. Not only is a quarter of our wheat crop sold to Europe and the Orient, but large amounts of wheat flour go to China, the Netherlands, Germany, Cuba, Great Britain and Brazil.

States where the raising of livestock is the important occupation, such as Wisconsin, Iowa, New Mexico and Wyoming, must find foreign markets not only for meats but also for the by-products of the industry, and must have materials from abroad for

the manufacture of these by-products. For the tin containers needed for meat preparations and for condensed and evaporated milk, tin must be brought from Malaya or Dutch Borneo, and the palm oil, in which the steel sheet of the can is dipped before it is coated with tin, from Africa. For products packed in glass containers, if tin tops are not used, corks must be imported from Spain or Portugal as well as the materials used in the manufacture of glass. For the tanning of hides, materials are required from Newfoundland, Argentina, the East Indies, Italy, Mexico, China, the West Indies, Europe and South Africa.

To any industry using paint or varnish, the lac bug of India is indispensable, and coloring substances must come from Italy, Turkey, France, Spain, Germany, Holland and England. Drying oils for paint are imported from England, Argentina, Holland and China. Brushes that are used for painting are made from bristles purchased from China, Russia and Germany.

When rubber is needed it must be imported from South America or Malaya or Dutch Borneo. Besides the automobile industry which is particularly dependent upon rubber, many sports, including baseball, football, soccer, basketball, water polo, hockey, and golf, all involve its use. Practically all sports, in fact, are international in their equipment; the gut in the best tennis rackets, the bamboo in fishing rods and the silk or linen in fishing lines, the cork in baseballs, the celluloid in pingpong balls, all are imported. Factories manufacturing sport equipment are also

peculiarly dependent on purchases by people of other countries, for the seasonal demand in any one country could not keep them running.

The prosperity, then, of millions of the everyday men and women of the United States is dependent on both the products and the purchases of peoples in other parts of the world, and it is therefore only as others prosper that we can prosper.

It has become obvious, to use the words of one economist to express the thought of many, that:

Political entanglements or no entanglements, World Court or no World Court, League of Nations or no League, we are inextricably bound up with the world's business. Willynilly, we are on the world's board of directors and must plan accordingly. The government policy of the future may well be negative; the business policy will and must be positive. We must plan both our loans abroad and our policies at home with an eye to international welfare.

In *The Imperial Dollar* Hiram Motherwell puts the implications of these facts even more clearly:

The material interest of the United States is predominantly that of promoting her export trade. If there is one object above all others for which she should use her power, it is this.

If this premise be accepted, two consequences must be inferred. The first is that America's power should be used to promote purchasing power everywhere. The second is that it should be used to preserve peace everywhere.

President Hoover sets forth the situation in terms of the average family:

More than two million families in the United States earn their living in the manufacture of raw materials which we import in exchange for our exports. . . . We have increased our production approximately thirty per cent during the last eight years, while our population has increased only about ten per cent. . . . To insure continuous employment and maintain our wages we must find a profitable market for the surplus. . . . Consequently our industries will gain in stability the wider we spread our trade with foreign countries. This additional security reflects itself in the home of every worker and every farmer in our country. . . . We might survive as a nation, though on lower standards and wages, if we had to suppress the nine per cent or ten per cent of our total production which is now sold abroad. But our whole standard of life would be paralyzed and much of the joy of living destroyed if we were denied sufficient imports. . . . Foreign trade thrives only in peace. But more than that, it thrives only with maintained goodwill and mutual interest with other nations.

"*If One Flourishes, All Flourish*"

So intricate is world exchange that it is hard to trace it or its results until on some occasion it is interrupted. For instance, before the war Germany was held to be ninety-nine per cent self-supporting in foodstuffs, yet this availed her very little, for her people

starved during the war when she could not import phosphates for fertilizer. When the people of Russia were unable during the war to buy their usual quantity of tea, the tea growers of India reduced their crop, and required less tin foil for packages, and the Cornish tin mines of England shut down, throwing many people out of work and reducing prosperous communities to poverty. The natives of India in turn could not afford to buy the usual amount of cotton goods, the factories of England bought less cotton from America, and our cotton growers and cotton workers were affected. By the recent military disturbances in China, American exports to that country were cut, according to some authorities by as much as half.

Mr. Merle Thorpe, editor of *The Nation's Business*, the official journal of the United States Chamber of Commerce, pointed out in a recent radio address:

The cumulative effect of disruption of trade, whether in belligerent countries or in neutral countries, is stupendous. The National Foreign Trade Council estimated in 1926 that total merchandise exports were two hundred and ten billions of dollars short of what they would have been if the economic dislocation accompanying and following the great war had not occurred.

In such a world as we are living in today "if one suffers, all suffer; if one flourishes, it is good for all the rest of us."

Financial Interdependence

There is another form of economic interdependence which closely involves the prosperity of the people of one country with that of the people of the rest of the world—foreign loans and investments; and it is not only large investors who are concerned, but, through investment trusts and holding companies, millions of small investors. Even before 1914 the people of England, Germany, France, the Netherlands, and other countries to a smaller extent had as much as six billion dollars invested in the United States and many billions more in other countries, but it is only since then that American foreign investments have grown to huge totals. Figures published in May, 1930, by the Department of Commerce show that the total of American private investments abroad equals over thirteen billions of dollars, of which one-third is invested in Latin America alone.

There are three types of foreign investment: short-term speculative investments in stocks; more permanent investments in the bonds of foreign public and private corporations; and direct investments in concessions for the development of natural resources, and in American owned and managed manufacturing companies.

The investment of large sums of foreign money in a country where capital is needed means, of course, that development projects are undertaken there, that business is stimulated, that people are able to spend more, and that the country becomes a better market for foreign goods. "If one flourishes, it is good for

all." This was the point that Secretary Mellon urged when he declared that the entire foreign debt to the United States was not worth as much to the American people in dollars and cents as a prosperous Europe for customer. In so far as large numbers of people realize that their money is invested in other countries they will watch the development of those countries with greater interest and enthusiasm. Countries desiring foreign money will also come to learn that loans and investments will not be made in regions where there is constant threat and danger of the disruption of industry by war.

The formation of cartels, or international trusts, by the large business interests of Europe is another indication that national boundaries are losing their reality in the economic world of today. These cartels cover basic commodities, controlling as much as ninety per cent of some of them, and also such products as dyestuffs, electric lamps, matches, paper, rayon. Since, under modern economic conditions, capital from all countries finds its way into any productive area, development companies are almost invariably internationally controlled. The United States Rubber Company owns large plantations in British sections of the Malay peninsula. Although Great Britain holds a mandate over Iraq, the petroleum companies of that region distribute their dividends among British, French, American and Dutch investors. British and Belgian capitalists are heavily interested in the enterprises of the colonies of Portugal.

In the world of today, who profits by war?

Intellectual Interdependence

As for inventions, not only are those of present-day life built up from materials assembled from every nation, but they represent the combined efforts and cooperation of scientists from age to age and from many countries. Modern civilization is as dependent upon exchange of knowledge as upon exchange of materials.

In the invention of the radio, or discovery of the laws which made it possible, the problems involved were tossed back and forth across the sea. The men directly concerned in it include a Hollander, a Scotsman, a German, a Frenchman, an Italian (who had an Irish mother), an Englishman and a Dane, as well as Americans. To the development of the airplane, aside from the many inventors who took part in perfecting the engine, contributions were made by scientists of Italy, where Leonardo da Vinci was the first to make careful studies of the flight of birds and attempted to create wings to be manipulated by the arms of the flier; by those of England where gliders were first developed, and of Germany where work with gliders was later taken up; by those of France where the balancing system now used was invented and a power driven machine rose from the earth in short flights as early as 1897; and by those of America where gliders and airplanes were first perfected. The art of gliding is today being highly developed in Germany where gliders rise six thousand feet and with favorable winds soar all day. Lighter than air machines were success-

fully made by Zeppelin in Germany and Santos-Dumont in Brazil.

Wireless telegraphy rests upon the discoveries of the Englishman, Maxwell, and the German scientist Hertz, and upon the inventive genius of the Italian Marconi. The wireless telephone was made possible by the discoveries of the Danish physicist, Poulson, and the Americans, De Forest and Pupin, the latter of whom came as an immigrant to this country from Serbia.

Today in the great research laboratories of England, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States, discoveries and inventions are being made which will be used by the scientists of all countries in later developments. One very interesting recent example is the invention in Japan of an instrument which will take sixty thousand pictures a second, a rate rapid enough to photograph the flow of atmospheric air. International conferences and international journals also facilitate constant exchange of scientific information. Thus scientific knowledge grows from nation to nation, and advance depends upon constant communication.

International Organization

Along a few lines, economic interdependence has already created problems which have forced governments to organize internationally, to give up something of their independent sovereignty in order to serve the interests of their own citizens.

Fifty years ago business men demanded concerted action for the establishment of an international postal service. At that time if someone in this country wished to send a letter to a friend or customer abroad it was necessary to decide first by what route the letter was to go. Depending upon the route selected, the cost might vary from a few cents to more than a dollar, since each country through which the letter passed charged what it considered a fair price for its transmission. Furthermore, if the letter missed a boat which would have taken it according to the indicated route, it was held sometimes for weeks for the next boat making that same passage. Persistent protests of business men led to several international conferences and finally, after the nations had reluctantly relinquished heretofore "sovereign rights," there was established the Universal Postal Union with headquarters in Berne, Switzerland. Today the Universal Postal Union is to all intents and purposes a small section of an international government, for although its rulings are subject to ratification by the legislative bodies of the nations, no nation can afford to rebel and cut its citizens off from the advantages of the service which it provides. Disputes which arise are arbitrated by officials of the Union.

Similar international regulation and control in all systems of communication to provide uninterrupted and undelayed service seem to be inevitable; the interest of business will compel it for wire and wireless communication as it did for the postal service.

And the same requirements apply to transportation systems. A statement was recently sent by Colonel Charles Lindbergh to the Commission on Transit and Communication of the League of Nations in which he detailed the reasons for international cooperation and regulation in the standardization of airways. He concluded: "Aviation does not concern one nation alone. Its ultimate value lies in the bringing of the various countries of the earth into closer contact. It is not possible to develop air transport and communication in its broadest aspect without the cooperation of the entire world."

To protect the health of the people of any nation, it is obvious that international action is necessary. Germs of disease pass freely across national boundaries and so far as they are concerned there is no such thing as national isolation; yet many nations long hesitated to accept international quarantine laws for fear these might interfere with their sovereign rights.

Previous to 1914 an International Office of Public Hygiene to which the United States belonged had been established at Paris, and the Rockefeller Health Board was active in promoting international health projects. Health statistics concerning Europe and North America were published weekly, but no regular reports were received from the Far East or from tropical countries where dangerous epidemics often have their beginning. The statesmen who drew up the Covenant of the League of Nations recognized the need for greater protection and provided that the

League should "take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease." The earlier International Office of Public Hygiene became an advisory body to the League committee, and the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation has generously supported its work.

The first international health conference called by the League in 1920 found itself facing a crisis that demanded immediate action. Typhus was spreading rapidly from Russia and Poland toward western Europe. The individual governments, and the Red Cross acting through them, had been powerless to check the disease. A commission was appointed, selected physicians and nurses went at the risk of their lives to the infected area, quarantine stations were established, hospitals were equipped, a line of disinfecting stations was set up across all routes of travel and sentries posted. The people of Poland were aided and Europe was saved. Health reports cabled weekly are now received at Geneva from Asia and Latin America, as well as from Europe and North America. A wireless station at Singapore collects information from all the ports of the Orient through which cholera, plague and smallpox are most likely to spread. Geneva in turn relays the reports to all parts of the world, and even ships at sea are able to pick up warnings as to conditions in their ports of call.

Another phase of the work of the League Health Committee, the interchange of health officers, has greatly increased the possibilities of international cooperation in this field. Through this means it has

become possible for one country to profit by the most advanced information and knowledge obtained by any other. In many instances individual nations have made advances in special fields, the benefit of which all the world may now share: Italy in anti-malaria work, England in industrial medicine, France in vaccination against tuberculosis, Germany in health insurance, the United States in the campaign against tuberculosis and venereal disease, Japan in the study of foods. The experience of the Japanese health service has never before been available to Western medical science, and the results of its important research studies on problems of health are now being published by the Health Committee of the League. In all this work, including the exchange of health officers, the United States cooperates through the Public Health Service. The countries of the two Americas have also joined in the establishment of the Gorgas Memorial Institute in Panama, which is to be devoted to the study of tropical diseases. The control in recent years of many dreaded diseases has been possible because the knowledge of the scientists of one nation has been supplemented by the scientists of others. In the case of malaria, for instance, a Frenchman discovered the parasite, an Englishman found that it was carried by the mosquito, and an American the particular mosquito which carried it.

Weather reporting essential to aviation is another of the accepted government services which could not be carried on without international cooperation.

Four nations, England, France, Germany and the United States, have recently agreed to cooperate in mapping Atlantic weather by means of reports from ships made by radio several times daily. An agreement for more widespread observations and reports has recently been entered into by thirty-four countries which have accepted for the first time a uniform code that greatly facilitates international cooperation in this field. Eighteen nations have joined in the Safety of Life at Sea conventions which oblige ship masters to report dangers of navigation. A Pacific Science Congress has also been organized for cooperation in the study of conditions over the Pacific. In 1932–33 a second International Polar Year will be organized, in which all polar countries will take part. Stations will be established from which simultaneous observations will be made, and reports exchanged which will make it possible to construct accurate charts of atmospheric conditions in the Arctic directly affecting other parts of the world.

Another interesting joint undertaking of the moment is the making of an airman's map of the world showing all landmarks prominent from the air. Thirty nations are cooperating in preparing this bird's-eye view of the earth. A "millionth map" of the world, on a scale of one to one million, to show the character of the earth's surface was undertaken several years ago under a central bureau of supervision. There is also an International Council for the Exploration of the Sea which, founded in 1902, now employs thirty vessels.

These things are hints of what the nations working together without fear of war, and with such funds as are now devoted to war, might be doing for the progress and welfare of the people of all countries.

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2. War Today

NOT ONLY are people in general thinking in terms of the world of yesterday, but when they talk of war they have in their minds a picture of the wars of yesterday. If this were not true, governments would be compelled to provide better guarantees of peace, or, as H. G. Wells says, gas masks for every citizen. A demand was made in the British House of Commons in 1927 that children in the schools be taught the use of gas masks and the suggestion was greeted with laughter, which led Mr. Wells to say:

Today the huge majority of people in the world think no more about the prevention of war than a warren of rabbits thinks about the suppression of shotguns and ferrets. They just don't want to be bothered about it. It is amazing how they accept the things that will presently slaughter them. . . .

Attacks on Civilians

The facts as stated in official reports or by government officials in regard to the weapons of war that

will presently destroy the men, women and children of the world if we continue not to bother about them are briefly these:

Wars of the future will be fought against citizens, not against soldiers. Cities and farms, transportation systems and distributing centers will be the chief points of attack, and neither battle fleets nor armies on the frontiers will protect them. The weapons will be airplanes armed with poison gas and poison smoke. Battleships, in the words of a member of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, will be "no more use than so many wash-tubs in the sea"; and the Journal of the United States Cavalry Association admits it will not be safe to have troops march "even at night," since planes with brilliant flares will hunt them out.

It seems probable that another war will be from the beginning a war of aircraft and gas bombs, though it might require a little time for these weapons to reach their maximum effectiveness. In so far as weapons of older type are used, they will be found to have increased tremendously in power. Armored tanks which once crawled laboriously over the ground already hurry about at more than twenty miles an hour. The range and accuracy of guns has been greatly increased. But whether achieved at once or not, the full possibilities of chemical warfare will assuredly be called into play. A bill has already been introduced into Congress by Senator Vandenberg of Michigan and Mrs. Florence P. Kahn, a member of the House from California, appropriating

four and a half million dollars for the construction of a metal clad airship able to lift one hundred tons. Such a dirigible would be able to carry and release armed airplanes as well as highly destructive bombs.

A report of a special committee on chemical warfare of the League of Nations states:

It will be borne in mind that henceforward an armed nation, utilizing the whole of its human and material resources, will attempt to strike not only at the combatants on the enemy's front, but at the whole enemy nation in arms—its population, its riches and its resources of every kind.

War of this sort, which carries destruction beyond the fighting lines and which renders opposing nations vulnerable to the extreme limits of their territories, has been made possible by the increasing range of modern guns, by the far-reaching activity of air forces, and by the conveying and disseminating in other ways of the means of destruction.

Defense Impossible

As for adequate defense against such weapons, it is generally agreed that there is none. Thomas Edison says:

Neither I nor anybody of my acquaintance has discovered any protection against the aeroplane even in its present state of development. There is in existence no means of preventing an aeroplane flotilla from flying over London tomorrow, and spreading over the millions of Londoners a gas which would asphyx-

iate those millions in a relatively short time. From twenty to thirty aeroplanes would be amply sufficient for this purpose.

In the mimic air attack on London in 1929, although the attacking planes were met by an equal number of defense planes, although the city was surrounded by a protective balloon system and by batteries of anti-aircraft guns, seventy-five pilots succeeded in bombing every specified objective, and escaped without one plane being downed.

The difficulty of defense is obvious when it is remembered that attacking planes may be invisible and silent. The noise of their engines may be stilled by Maxim silencers, and they may be made of a recently developed metal, called plass or aldur, which is invisible in the air and is peculiarly fitted for use in planes, since it is light and at the same time very strong. These invisible, silent planes may also be pilotless, for planes can now be controlled and their bombs discharged by radio.

Airplanes as Weapons of War

In his book *Men and Machines* Stuart Chase, discussing the London attack, makes these points:

For a three-dimensional offense there is no defense —or only the sorriest kind, as the attack on London showed. Some genius has suggested that piano wire be suspended from balloons to trap an air offensive. He should receive a prize from a comic weekly. . . .

The only way to keep aeroplanes out of a metropolitan area is to have enough anti-aircraft guns to fill four hundred cubic miles practically solid with steel splinters and T.N.T. . . . Defense by home aeroplanes is almost equally futile. There is too much space through which the attacker can slip. Tag is a good game on the ground, but it loses all charm in the air. . . .

These bristling pictures of anti-aircraft guns in the Sunday supplements . . . are an insult to the intelligence. The superdreadnaughts throwing up great walls of spume, beautiful as they are as pieces of engineering, are an even worse insult. These gas masks for every man, woman and child are the worst of all.

War Gases

The report of the League of Nations committee previously referred to concludes in this way:

There is every reason to believe that in a future war, aircraft would be much more numerous than in the last, and they would be able to carry much heavier weights. However reprehensible such an action might be, there would be nothing technically to prevent their dropping large bombs filled with some heavy poison gas over localities essential to the political or economic life of an enemy country. The gas to be employed would not necessarily be one which only disables human beings for a time, since the object would be to hamper or destroy some continuous activity aimed at by the attack. Mustard gas, for instance, dropped in large quantities would

be likely to hang about the cities and slowly penetrate the houses. It is much to be hoped that some means of protecting the civil population from such an attack may be found. But it is right to point out that the problem is a difficult one. To furnish a whole population with gas masks would seem almost impracticable, and methods for collective protection have yet to be proved efficient; yet, short of that, and especially in the absence of any knowledge as to where the attack was to be delivered, no complete protection could be secured. Moreover, heavy poison gases linger, even in the open country, for quite a long time. In a city it is difficult to say how long they might remain, and during all that time the danger would continue. . . . It is, in the opinion of the Commission, essential that all nations should realize to the full the terrible nature of the danger which threatens them.

Brigadier General Groves, head of the British air forces in 1918, has pointed out: "There is only one real defense in aerial warfare, that is, hit first. You must attack the enemy before he leaves his home airdrome." This plan offers little hope for the noncombatant, since in the vast spaces of the air the enemy planes will slip by each other, and destruction will come upon the citizens of both sides. In no future war will it ever again be possible for parents to achieve a vicarious heroism through the unseen sufferings of their sons on distant fronts. Their children will die at their sides; and, as Captain Liddell Hart has said, there is some good mixed with this evil, "for the people at home have often egged on

their gallant defenders long after these were weary of war and wishful for peace."

As for the defense against the gases loosed by the planes, consider the practicability of the methods suggested in a report of experts assembled by the Red Cross which was adopted and submitted to the international committee of that organization in 1928:

Shelters of the only invulnerable type thus far produced, which is a hermetically sealable subterranean chamber supplied with chemically produced oxygen or filtered air from a high chimney ventilation operated by a powerful motor, should be provided in all parts of a nation's territory, since there is no knowing where an attack will be made. These shelters should contain stocks of chemicals for neutralizing the atmosphere, like chloride of lime and permanganate of potash, which, in case of penetration of the shelter by gas, could be pulverized by a machine. Each shelter should contain instructions on how to proceed, printed on gas-proof material. Food, water and hospital stocks should be stored in small quantities in gas-proof receptacles, the populations being warned that gas-contaminated water must be disinfected, boiling being insufficient for that purpose.

Fire brigades should be trained to conduct the work of this disinfection, while volunteer corps of nurses and relief workers should be organized in all communities.

New buildings should be constructed with subterranean gas-proof shelters separated from the superstructure and from each other by masses of concrete, with stairways leading to them constructed of resist-

ant materials, such as reenforced concrete, the center of which would serve as a chimney for the filtered air.

Municipalities should be warned that gas and water pipes must be laid deep under the ground.

Each community should be provided with a hermetically sealed van with stores of oxygen for removing the gassed.

The New York *Times* of November 18, 1928, in discussing the new gases and protection of the population against them said:

Mixtures of gases have been evolved which can accomplish varied effects at the same time. A tear or sneezing gas will, if it penetrates the mask, force the removal of the mask, and then a strong dosage of a lethal gas can effectively kill off the non-combatant.

How can the military authorities provide the millions of non-combatants with gas masks to protect them against a surprise attack? There is no way. Gas masks have their limitations. New, secret gas mixtures, which, as we know, most of the chemical-producing nations are developing, can penetrate any gas mask. There is a constant race between new combinations of poison gas and new adjustments of the mask for protection.

What are these gases, and what is their effect against which we have but one defense, the prevention of war itself? Consider their development during the last war in which their use was only child's play compared with what it will be in any other.

The first gases used in the World War were irritating and temporarily disabling, such as tear gases

or sneezing gases, though any gas in sufficient quantity may be fatal. Gases which irritated the lungs were next employed, but these at first were of a kind which quickly lost effectiveness. Tear and sneezing gases were then mixed with those which affected the lungs. This combination compelled soldiers to tear off their masks, only to receive the full effect of the more deadly gas. In July, 1917, mustard gas was first used. It is a deadly and persistent gas and is estimated to have accounted for more casualties than the shelling in all the previous years of the war. It penetrates clothing, rubber and leather, it ruins food and liquids; death may come as late as two weeks after exposure, and a region contaminated with this gas is unsafe in dry weather for weeks. Its presence cannot at first be detected, and because it is heavier than air there is no escape from it in cellars and dugouts.

There are also arsenic gases which destroy the nerves, and phosgene which chokes and causes intense pain which no opiates can be used to relieve. Since the war, lewisite gas, which is twice as strong as mustard gas, has been developed; and a yet more deadly gas has been announced by the chemist, Hilton Ira Jones, who describes it as "a deadly poison which would destroy armies as a man might snuff out a candle." "War will never again be fought with shot and shell," Dr. Jones says; "it can't be, for it is so much cheaper to destroy life wholesale with this new gas."

Mrs. Elvira K. Fradkin, recognized authority on

chemical warfare, in her pamphlet published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace under the title "Chemical Warfare, Its Possibilities and Probabilities," points out that the use of poison gas in naval warfare will be as devastating as its use on land. The explosion of gas bombs over a warship will render it powerless, for by means of the explosive, gases will be forced in through the ship's ventilating system, reaching every man aboard before he is aware of their presence. Ships and men will become impotent in a few hours, and furthermore will be shunned by any possible rescuers.

What are governments doing to protect their people? Obviously they are not providing gas masks nor gas shelters. The United States Senate has so far refused to become a party to the general treaty prohibiting the use of poison gas which was drawn up at the League of Nations Traffic in Arms Conference in 1925, and which was at that time strongly supported by the United States delegates. The treaty as signed by thirty-eight nations has been ratified by only four, France, Liberia, China and Venezuela; and since the four have failed to deposit their ratifications with the League of Nations, their action is not effective. Lack of government action in this case as in all others can be directly traced to lack of interest and insistence on the part of the people themselves.

In connection with the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments a committee on the subject of chemical warfare, the chairman of which was General Pershing, reported:

Chemical warfare should be abolished among the nations as abhorrent to civilization. It is a cruel, unfair, and improper use of science. It is fraught with the gravest dangers to non-combatants, and demoralizes the better instincts of humanity.

Following the Washington Conference, England, France, Italy, Japan and the United States agreed to prohibit the use of poison gas among themselves and to invite other nations to join in such prohibition. But the treaty has not been generally ratified, and preparation for chemical warfare continues.

It is true, and fortunately true, that horror never blocked man's way to a goal he wished to achieve. But what gain is to be had from a war conducted by methods and with weapons which mean wholesale destruction, and the preparation for which demands so large a proportion of a nation's energy and income?

What War Costs

In his message to Congress on December 4, 1929, President Hoover concluded his statement on national defense by saying: "I recommend that Congress give earnest consideration to the possibilities of prudent action which will give relief to our continuously mounting expenditures."

The figures which he gave showing the increasing cost of national defense were these:

1914	$267,000,000
1924	612,000,000
1929	730,000,000

The number of officers and men in our regular forces and in the National Guard and other forms of reserves he showed to have increased according to the following figures:

1914	299,000
1924	672,000
1929	728,000

On the following day he made public a tabulated statement showing the national budget at a glance. The Associated Press said in publishing this statement:

The statement of today showed that approximately seventy-two cents of every dollar to be spent by the federal government during the next fiscal year must go to pay for past wars, and preparedness for any that may occur in the future.

Only eight cents of every dollar will be spent to keep the actual machinery of the government functioning, thirteen cents will be devoted to the social aids and subsidies, and the remaining seven cents to maintaining the government's fiscal affairs.

Official government figures published in 1923 showed that eighty-five cents of every dollar was then being spent to pay for past wars and to prepare for future ones. The gradual reduction during recent years from eighty-five to seventy-two cents is due almost entirely to a reduction in the amount of the public debt previously incurred for war purposes.

This budget statement showed an increase in the estimated appropriations for national defense for 1931 over 1930 of more than twenty-six million

dollars. It also showed that compared with the seventy-two cents spent for war purposes out of every tax dollar, one-half cent is spent for the conduct of foreign relations, less than a quarter of a cent for aids to labor, a little over a cent and a half for aids to agriculture, a third of a cent for education, two-thirds of a cent for public health, and one-third of a cent for aids to industry and trade. It is sometimes said that the amount spent by our government for national defense is trivial compared with amounts the people of the country spend for luxuries; but it is not the cost of defense, it is the cost of war which is the question at issue.

As a matter of fact there is no way to arrive at the total figure accurately representing the cost of war. There are not only direct but indirect costs, both in money and in life; there are not only immediate but long delayed costs both in wealth and in the welfare of the race. Moreover, to the total cost must be added those national projects the undertaking of which is prevented, not only by the existence of war but by the threat of war.

The most complete figures on the money cost of the World War are those compiled by Professor Ernest L. Bogart and published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

	Direct Costs
To the Allies.....	$125,590,476,497
To the enemy countries.	60,643,160,600
Total	$186,233,637,097

The indirect cost, covering capitalized value of lives lost, property losses, loss of production, war relief and loss to neutrals, is estimated at $151,612,552,560. The number of soldiers killed is estimated at close to ten million. The number of wounded reached over twenty million. There were more than five million women made widows, and more than nine million children made orphans. In the civilian population of every European country engaged, the birth rate heavily declined and the death rate, due to disease, was raised.

But obviously these figures are little more than an intimation of the price which the world pays today when it permits itself to become involved in war. There was a time when war engaged the energies of only a small part of a nation's people, and when these were able during campaigns very largely to support themselves. When weapons were largely those of personal combat, the destruction of material wealth was relatively small. Today, when war means that a nation's industrial life is disrupted, all its resources and energy turned to war purposes, there must be added to the actual destruction of wealth the wasteful and extravagant use of natural resources, the tremendous depreciation in all equipment because of the lack of repairs and replacements, and such loss as is represented by the fact that it required eight years after the close of the last war for the soil of Europe, which had been necessarily uncared for and unfertilized, to regain its productivity.

The effect of war upon the race has heretofore been

checked, it has been pointed out, by the fact that in general the health of the women has been unimpaired by it. But in modern war women as well as men suffer from undernourishment, and from the intense strain of industrial overwork. It is prophesied that in another war the strongest and most intelligent women will be selected for employment in the munition works, which will be among the first objects of attack.

The generation of children which is born or grows up under war conditions is often undernourished, depressed, and deprived of the educational training which it should and would normally receive. If, as is known from the enlistment records of the French army, the effect of the Napoleonic wars was to reduce the stature of the men of France two inches, while the necessary exemptions for infirmities as the children of the war period reached military age increased by one-third, the biological effect of future warfare can be foreseen. Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington says:

Armies in the past have had little heavy artillery, with none of the powerful modern high explosives; and other conditions of warfare were such that deep mental and nervous shocks must have been far less frequent. . . . Perhaps even greater harm, both in the way of resulting defective personalities and following defective progeny, will result from the extreme and prolonged tension that must be sustained in many cases by the soldier in the trenches, for days and often weeks at a time; from the infectious dis-

eases; and from the disease of the various important organs contracted through overstrain, exposure or direct injuries.

Viewed in this light, modern warfare becomes a great enemy of the human race. It not only kills many of the most healthy and competent, but it will create and perpetuate on a larger scale many serious organic defects, which, like the proverbial sins, will plague humanity for generations. The victor and the vanquished will suffer alike.

It is believed by many people that if other nations lost wealth through the World War, the United States gained. Certainly the nation as a whole gained a position of greatly increased power as compared with the other nations of the world. Our system of production was speeded up, and our resources were depleted to no such extent as those of the other nations involved. Consequently at the war's close we found ourselves in a favorable situation to supply the industrial needs of the world. It is true also that a few men in this country—records show over a hundred and twenty—became multi-millionaires. Yet the fact is that the increase in the national wealth was many millions below what it would have been had the rate at which it was increasing before the war continued during the war years; while the per capita income of our people decreased between 1913 and 1923 from three hundred and twenty-one to two hundred and eighty-two dollars.

Could the money which this nation is devoting to war purposes be turned today into promotion of

great national projects designed for the welfare of all the people, it is impossible to estimate to what extent our national wealth would be increased or how far removed from the problem of unemployment we might be. In a speech in Louisville on October 23, 1929, President Hoover said that the modernization of our whole system of waterways would require "an annual increase of expenditures equal to the cost of one-half of one battleship."

One week of the World War cost the United States enough to build in every state 940 high schools at $100,000; 1,540 grade schools at $40,000; 480 churches at $100,000; and 1,920 recreation centers, with swimming pools and playgrounds, at $35,000. One-half year cost the United States enough to cover the purchase of one automobile and one tractor for every one of six and a half million farmers, with six hundred million dollars left over for good roads.

Beyond the possibilities of what any single nation might do if it were free to devote all its resources to activities which would mean progress, lie the possibilities of peaceful world cooperation in such development of the resources of the earth as modern science has brought within the reach of man. Already engineers of many nations are meeting in world conferences. The second World Power Conference held in Berlin in 1930 was attended by four thousand delegates from fifty countries. The chairman of the American delegation said at the closing session, "This conference deals with economic, engineering, and social problems common to us all . . . world

interest in the use of power is binding nations together."

When the vision of the world beyond war takes hold of men's imaginations, the glory and glamor of war will be dimmed, and like every other monster and obstacle which has stood between men and their advancement, war will be swept aside. Freed from war, not only the world's material resources but its energy and its thought could be turned to the solution of the great problems which harass the life of the people of all countries—conflict between labor and capital, unemployment, the dependency of old age, the proper care of children, distribution of population, the adequate education of all citizens. These are not only universal problems but are common problems in the sense that they can be solved only by common action. Because they are unsolved, millions of men and women and children are today deprived of all approach to happiness.

Someone has said, "To end war, create great peace." It might be said, end war to create great peace, for war today is blocking the road toward the future.

PART TWO

WAYS AND MEANS OF SETTLING DISPUTES WITHOUT WAR

1. Arbitration and Conciliation

WHEN THE world was threatened by the outbreak of the World War, what means were there for protecting it against that disaster? There were two alternatives only: a settlement reached through long distance diplomatic negotiation, and war. No nation was then under any real obligation to attempt a peaceful settlement, and the nations threatening hostilities were supported not only by custom but by law.

When a critical dispute arises today between two nations, what are the possibilities of avoiding war? In the first place, under the Kellogg Peace Pact they find themselves pledged to try to settle the dispute by peaceful means.

The great power of the Kellogg Pact to restrain governments from war lies in the fact that it is practically universal and a people's treaty. Officially known as the General Pact for the Renunciation of War, it was signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, and was proclaimed at Washington on July 24, 1929, by President Hoover as "the supreme law of the land." Within less than two years after the treaty had been open for signature, sixty-three nations had signed, or,

in the case of seven Latin American countries, had expressed their intention of signing. Brazil and Argentina alone have failed to take any action.

The proposal out of which the Pact grew was made by Foreign Minister Aristide Briand of France in a message sent through the Associated Press to the American people on the tenth anniversary of their entry into the war. Encouraged by its reception both in France and America, M. Briand about two months later sent a formal suggestion to the United States government that war between the two peoples should by agreement be outlawed. When the United States delayed its reply, prominent citizens wrote to the press urging the government to act. The organized peace movement was aroused, and in Congress it was suggested that a joint resolution be adopted by that body declaring the American policy to be in accord with the French proposal. The final negotiation of the Pact by the State Department is admitted to have been in response to the widely expressed desire of the people.

As concluded, the Pact was not one between France and the United States, but a general treaty open to all the nations of the world and negotiated and originally signed by fifteen: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, the Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Poland, the South African Union, and the United States. As one statesman after another signed the Pact in Paris, they pointed out that it was an expression of "the will of the people" of the

world, and significant of a "new spirit in the world." Secretary Kellogg said, "This treaty is the solemn public expression of the aspiration not of governments but of whole peoples speaking through their governments." When the Pact was ratified it was said to have been "ratified by common opinion."

But it is a people's treaty in more ways than these. It rests for its enforcement upon public opinion alone, crediting that opinion with power to maintain peace. At the same time it gives new power to public opinion, for with war condemned and renounced, a public demand for peace has right and law on its side. Under the Pact it is not only the right but the responsibility of citizens to use their power for peace. There is every evidence that they realize this in the peace petitions, signed by thousands of names, recently sent to the President and to Congress and to international conferences. Many churches have signed "A Pledge of Acceptance of the World Peace Pact," drawn up by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which says . . . "realizing that the value of this Peace Pact is dependent on the intelligent and determined support given it by the people of each nation . . . we accept for ourselves . . . and will do whatever lies in our power to bring to others the meaning and significance of the Pact."

The provisions of the Pact are brief and easily understood. The important articles read:

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they con-

demn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

What kind of disputes may arise, and what pacific means exist for their settlement?

Types of Disputes and Methods of Settlement

There are two types of international disputes: those of a so-called legal nature, and those which are not legal—that is, to which no existing law or treaty applies. The distinction between the two classes is not always easily made. It has, however, in connection with the jurisdiction of the World Court been generally agreed that disputes of a legal nature shall be understood to include those which have to do with the interpretation of a treaty; those which have to do with some recognized point of international law; the existence of any fact which would prove a breach of an international obligation; and the amount of reparation to be made for such a breach. Non-legal disputes have to do rather with a conflict of political interests. It has, however, often been pointed out that a political dispute may become a legal dispute by the simple process of agreeing to submit it to a court or arbitration tribunal for final decision.

At present there are four chief methods by which disputes may be settled by reason rather than by force:

By conferences between diplomatic representatives or officials of the nations involved.

By asking a disinterested commission to investigate the problem and suggest a solution. This process is known as conciliation. There is no compulsion upon the nations involved to accept the suggestions made, and it does not assure a settlement.

By submitting the dispute to arbitrators, often members of the Hague Tribunal, who will decide it according to the principles of international law, and whose decision it is agreed in advance shall be accepted as final.

By laying the case before the World Court, which determines it according to law or, if authorized to do so, according to justice and equity.

Practically all nations within the last few years have signed treaties agreeing to attempt a settlement of any international dispute which may arise through processes of conference and conciliation, and many, including Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany, but not the United States, have agreed to accept decisions by arbitration or by the World Court of all disputes of a legal nature. At least eighty-eight treaties, signed by forty-three nations, have been negotiated, in each case between two countries though in no case other than in the Locarno treaties between two great powers, for the final settlement of any and all disputes by arbitration.

The principle involved in none of these processes is new. Conference and conciliation have long been employed in diplomatic negotiation. Arbitration was practised by the city states of Greece. A world court was advocated for many centuries, and definitely outlined by an American citizen, William Ladd, a hundred years ago. The thing that is new is the number of disputes which it is agreed are suitable for solution by one or another of these means, and the fact that definite machinery has been established making them constantly and easily available. Along these lines there has been since the war a swift and remarkable development.

Compare for an encouraging moment the only general treaty for the peaceful settlement of international disputes which existed before the war, the Hague Convention of 1907, with the Kellogg Pact. Instead of "condemning and renouncing" war, the contracting powers "with a view to obviating as far as possible recourse to force in the relations between states . . . agree to use their best efforts to ensure pacific settlement of international differences." Instead of agreeing that the settlement of disputes shall "never be sought except by pacific means," the powers agree to have recourse "as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers." As far as questions of a legal nature are concerned,—which almost all the great nations of the world, though not the United States, have now agreed to submit to the World Court—it was in 1907 considered "desirable" that

the contracting powers should "have recourse to arbitration in so far as circumstances permit." As for the machinery of peaceful settlement before the war, government officials met chiefly at "peace" conferences to conduct the final skirmish of a war. They had little chance except through correspondence, or at second hand through ambassadors, to discuss problems easily and naturally before these reached the stage of acute conflict. With the establishment of the League of Nations, statesmen of the world began to meet at regular intervals to talk over whatever problems were on their minds at the moment. Although the United States has no representative at the meetings of the Council or of the Assembly of the League, which offer the easiest and most frequent opportunities for conference, it has sent representatives to practically all the meetings arranged on special subjects. It has been officially represented at twenty-four conferences and meetings, and unofficially at twenty-nine more.

Understanding Through Conference

For this hemisphere the Pan American Union and conferences have supplied a natural opportunity for discussion and exchange of views. The first one of the conferences was called in 1899 by the United States to consider ways and means "to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several American states." The reality and value of the conferences have been less than they might have been because of

their almost inevitable domination by the United States. At the last conference, held in Havana in 1926, a certain change in the attitude of the United States was noted, due in part to a clearer realization of the situation and in part to actual protests from the other countries. Among other things it was agreed that hereafter the representatives of Latin American countries to the conferences need not be, as they previously had been, the diplomats already accredited to Washington, who must necessarily be agreeable to the United States and somewhat imbued with its point of view.

A Pan European Union has been proposed by the French government in a recent memorandum to the other nations concerned. Its purpose is much the same as that of the Pan American Union, "peace and prosperity" through closer economic and cultural relations. One of the most important objectives is the ultimate creation of a free trade area in Europe in order to supply larger home markets for European products.

Special groups from the countries bordering on the Pacific, scientists, business men, educators and journalists, have for a number of years come together through the conferences called by the Pan Pacific Union. In 1925 the Institute of Pacific Relations began a second series of unofficial conferences attended by men and women as independent citizens. Central offices have been set up in Honolulu, and there are committees in each of the nations concerned. The Institute shows the growing and self-

conscious power of public opinion. Its sole aim is to promote peace, recognized as a common need, by better mutual understanding arrived at through wider knowledge of facts. Because its discussions are informal, because no action is taken, not even such action as is implied in the passing of resolutions, it has been possible to discuss such complex and delicate problems as the Oriental exclusion clause, the expansion of Japanese population, and the rise of Chinese nationalism.

In the Inter-Parliamentary Union, which was founded in 1904 and meets every two years, members of national legislative bodies consult together and are able to work toward common ends and to agree on policies promoting international peace.

The principle of conference as a means of settling differences actively involving the threat of war is recognized in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in the Four Power Pacific Treaty negotiated in 1922. The Covenant provides that a member of the League may request a meeting of the Council for the purpose of conferring in regard to any threat of war, in order that the League may take whatever action shall be deemed wise to safeguard the peace of the nations. In the Four Power Pacific Treaty which grew out of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, Great Britain, Japan, France and the United States formally agree to confer in the event of a controversy arising out of any Pacific question "likely to affect the harmonious accord between them."

Arbitration in United States History

Arbitration is a term that is often loosely applied to describe any formal method of peaceful settlement, probably because it is the oldest and most familiar. Accepted at first only for disputes that had already arisen, it was extended to possible disputes of the future, and the questions admitted to be capable of settlement by arbitration have steadily widened in scope. Today it is agreed between many of the great powers that all legal questions shall be so settled, and between certain other powers that all questions of whatever nature may be so settled.

George Washington himself reintroduced arbitration into the practise of modern nations, and thus began the long series of efforts to bring about world peace which have recently resulted in the Kellogg Pact. A large part of the honor which is being given modern statesmen for their efforts to free the world from war belongs to Washington. For many centuries before the Revolution there had been no occasion when an international dispute had been referred to arbitration. But, true to his frequent statement that it was his "first wish to see war abolished from the earth," Washington, during his first administration when a second conflict with England threatened over boundary claims, debts and neutral rights, resisted all demands for war and sent his Chief Justice, John Jay, to England to effect a peaceful settlement. The treaty which Jay negotiated was the first arbitration treaty in modern his-

tory. Its provisions were not considered favorable to the United States, and it was ratified after bitter opposition without a vote to spare, but Washington courageously supported and signed it. John Quincy Adams described it as "the severest trial which the character of Washington and fortunes of our country have ever passed through."

With this precedent, the treaties following the War of 1812 likewise provided for the settlement of certain questions by arbitration; but it was not until England agreed to such settlement of the Alabama Claims Case, following the Civil War, that arbitration was taken seriously by European nations. In the meantime the principle had been growing in favor in the western hemisphere. Certain of the republics of Latin America, Brazil, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela, were the first governments to provide in their constitutions for the arbitration of disputes.

The idea grew rapidly in popularity. State legislatures and both houses of Congress by resolution urged treaties referring "the adjustment of misunderstandings or controversy to the decision of disinterested and impartial arbitrators." In 1851 the preamble to such a resolution read, "The genius of our government, the habits of our people and the highest prosperity of our republic . . . require the adoption of every feasible measure to prevent war." The report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in submitting this resolution said, ". . . the United States, of all others, is the proper country to propose this policy to the nations of the earth."

In 1890 the President was authorized by Congress to invite negotiations with other countries "to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by ordinary diplomatic agencies may be referred to arbitration." In response to this action the British parliament expressed the hope that the government would cooperate with the United States in conducting such negotiations. As a result a treaty was entered into by the two governments providing for the arbitration of all questions "not involving title to territory." The reasons for its failure, even after many amendments, to pass the Senate are discussed in the paragraphs dealing with the Senate's power over treaties.

An important gain in procedure was made when the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899 established the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which is in fact a panel or list of jurists from among whom arbitrators can readily be chosen when any dispute arises. This court of arbitration, frequently referred to as the Hague Tribunal, continues to function side by side with the World Court.

Roosevelt, Root, and Taft Treaties

Shortly after President Roosevelt came into office, he instructed John Hay, Secretary of State, to propose a treaty similar to one which had been signed a short time before between Italy and France for the arbitration of disputes of a legal nature or disputes referring to the interpretation of a treaty. Questions

of "vital interests, independence or honor" or the interests of third parties were excluded. France, Germany, Great Britain, Portugal, Switzerland signed such treaties with this country. Mexico, Italy and Russia were prepared to do so. When the first treaty of this type was submitted to the Senate it was amended in such a way that each time the arbitration of a dispute was contemplated, the terms defining the dispute, technically known as the *compromis*, would have to be set forth in a special agreement requiring the Senate's ratification. Roosevelt declared that the amendment made the treaties "shams," and reduced them "to solemnly enacting that there shall be another arbitration whenever the two governments decide that there shall be one," and he dropped them. It was apropos of this incident that Secretary Hay compared a treaty coming before the Senate to a bull entering the arena, and declared that the only thing certain in either case was that they "would not come out alive."

Elihu Root as Secretary of State secured the adoption between 1908 and 1910 of twenty-two treaties similar to the Roosevelt treaties, by incorporating the Senate's demand that it have a voice in defining the terms of each arbitration.

In 1911 President Taft attempted to negotiate with England and France treaties which would admit a much wider class of disputes to arbitration. The treaties covering all disputes "justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of principles of law" were duly signed

and submitted to the Senate. They were promptly attacked by Roosevelt and by his close friend, Senator Lodge, who, as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, reported them to be "unconstitutional" on the ground that they permitted an international commission to decide whether a question could be arbitrated or not, whereas such power belonged in fact to the Senate. The press of the country believed the public to be behind the treaties, and practically all important papers supported them. Nevertheless they were so amended that their final ratification by the Senate was, according to the New York *World*, "adding insult to injury." The President definitely refused to sign them.

Bryan Proposes Conciliation

In 1913, in a further effort to find some method of peaceful adjustment adapted to any and all disputes, William Jennings Bryan undertook the negotiation of treaties which provided for the establishment of permanent commissions of five members to which all disputes should be submitted for investigation and report. It was required that a report be made within a year, and the nations agreed neither to declare war nor begin hostilities before the report was rendered, but did not agree to accept the report. No settlement, therefore, was guaranteed by this process, but at least a way was opened for settlement, and a delay or "cooling off period" provided. Twenty-one such treaties were concluded.

When certain of the Root treaties were renewed in 1928 a further advance was made in that the questions excluded, instead of being those affecting vital interests and national honor were somewhat more clearly defined as those concerning the Monroe Doctrine, domestic issues, a third nation or the obligations of any nation to the League of Nations.

Progress of Arbitration in Europe

Since the World War various European nations have adopted treaties of arbitration much more advanced than any to which the United States has been willing to agree. Such treaties, known as "all-in" arbitration treaties, provide for settlement of legal disputes by the World Court, and of non-legal disputes by conciliation or, failing that, by an arbitral tribunal. Some eighty-eight of these, as already mentioned, have been signed.

The Locarno treaties designed to supply guarantees against aggression were signed in 1925 by Germany, France, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and in them Great Britain and Italy agree to come to the support of France if attacked by Germany or of Germany if attacked by France. The treaties specifically provided for local conciliation commissions before which all disputes may be brought. Still unsettled legal questions are then referred to the World Court for final judgment, and all others to the Council of the League for recommendations.

In 1928 the Assembly of the League drew up what

is known as the General Act, which any state, whether a member of the League or not, may sign and which goes into effect between any two states which have signed it. This is in reality a general "all-in" arbitration treaty, and in a sense provides for just what the second article of the Kellogg Pact provides for, but seeks to arrange the particular method by which various kinds of disputes shall be settled. Legal disputes are taken to the World Court; non-legal are submitted first to conciliation by regional commissions, and in case this fails, to definite decision by a board of arbitration. Belgium, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands and Sweden with reservations, have so far accepted the General Act. France's signature has been ratified by the Chamber of Deputies but not the Senate. Great Britain, it is understood, is to sign in 1930.

The International Joint Commission

Between the United States and Canada there has been worked out a unique plan which has been so successful that it is now suggested for adoption by the United States and Mexico and by neighboring states in other parts of the world.

The International Joint Commission was created by Canada and the United States in 1909. Its jurisdiction is threefold. In cases concerning boundary waters, many of which involve millions of dollars, it has authority to make a final settlement; it may be called upon by either government to investigate and

report on "questions of difference arising along the common frontier" and "any questions or matters of difference arising between the high contracting parties [whether or not concerned with frontier problems] . . . may be referred to it for decision." There is a notable absence of red tape about the working of the Commission. Sessions are held when necessary at points where the local interests seem to be most affected, and everyone concerned is given an opportunity to be heard. When a decision is not unanimous it must be by a two-thirds vote.

The Commission is composed of three citizens of the United States and three of Canada, appointed by the executive branches of their respective governments. In accepting appointment one of the commissioners made this statement: "Although I am a citizen of but one nation, I am constituted a judge for both. Each nation has the same, and no greater, right to demand of me fidelity and diligence in the examination, exactness and justice of the decision."

Inter-American Treaties

In 1929, as an outcome of the Pan American conference of 1928, two treaties of peaceful settlement were signed by all the American republics except Argentina. The first of these, the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, has been ratified by the United States and four of the countries of Latin America. The second, the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, has not as yet been con-

NATIONS WITH WHICH UNITED STATES HAS TREATIES PROVIDING METHOD FOR PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. (*August 1, 1930*)

All Disputes—by Conciliation

Countries		*The Bryan Treaties*
Bolivia	Netherlands	All disputes of whatever nature not settled by diplomacy or submitted to arbitration are to be submitted for investigation and report to a permanent International Commission which must report within one year. The nations agree not to begin hostilities before the report is submitted, but are not bound to accept its recommendations.
Brazil	Norway	
Chile	Paraguay	
China	Peru	
Denmark	Portugal	
Ecuador	Russia	
France	Spain	
Great Britain	Sweden	
Italy	Uruguay	
	Venezuela	

		The Kellogg Conciliation Treaties
Albania	Finland	The important provisions of the Kellogg Treaties, negotiated at later dates, are practically the same as those of the Bryan Treaties.
Austria	Germany	
Bulgaria	Hungary	
Czecho-slovakia	Jugoslavia	
	Latvia	
Esthonia	Lithuania	
Ethiopia	Poland	
	Rumania	

	Inter-American Conciliation Treaty
Chile	One of two permanent Conciliation Commissions established in Washington and in Montevideo is immediately to take under consideration any dispute which arises, without waiting for it to be submitted. A special commission will then be appointed, which must report within one year. Hostilities must not be begun for six months after report is made but recommendations need not be accepted.
El Salvador	
Guatemala	
Mexico	

Justiciable Disputes—by Arbitration

Countries	*The Root Treaties*
Brazil Ecuador Haiti Liberia Peru Uruguay	All disputes of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties, except those affecting vital interests, independence, honor and the rights of a third party, are to be submitted for settlement to the Tribunal at The Hague or other tribunal agreed upon.

The Kellogg Arbitration Treaties

Albania	Hungary	All disputes of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties, except those involving domestic jurisdiction, third parties, the Monroe Doctrine, or the obligations of any nation to the League of Nations, are to be submitted for final settlement to the Permanent Tribunal at The Hague or other tribunal agreed upon.
Austria	Jugo-slavia	
Bulgaria	Latvia	
Czecho-slovakia	Lithuania	
Denmark	Netherlands	
Esthonia	Norway	
Ethiopia	Poland	
Finland	Portugal	
France	Rumania	
Germany	Sweden	

Pecuniary Claims Convention

Bolivia	Guatemala	Pecuniary claims submitted by citizens and not adjusted by diplomacy are to be arbitrated.
Brazil	Honduras	
Costa Rica	Nicaragua	
Dominican Republic	Panama	
	Paraguay	
Ecuador	Uruguay	

All Disputes—by Inquiry into Facts

Treaty of Santiago

Brazil	Haiti	In the event of any controversy not settled by diplomacy or submitted to arbitration, an investigation and report as to facts is to be made and hostilities are not to be begun before six months after report is made.
Chile	Mexico	
Costa Rica	Panama	
Cuba	Paraguay	
Dominican Republic	Peru	
	Salvador	
Ecuador	Uruguay	
Guatemala	Venezuela	

Breach of Treaty—by Inquiry into Facts

Costa Rica	Honduras	Inquiry into facts in case of alleged failure to comply with a treaty.
Guatemala	Nicaragua	

sidered by the United States Senate but has been ratified by four Latin American nations. The Conciliation Treaty calls for the submission of "all controversies of any kind" to a conciliation commission which it has not been possible to settle through diplomatic channels. This commission is to report within a year, and hostilities are not to be begun for six months following the report.

In the Arbitration Treaty the nations bind themselves to submit to arbitration all disputes which are legal in nature. Only two classes of disputes are excluded: domestic questions not controlled by international law, and questions affecting states not parties to the treaty. The ratification of this treaty by the United States will necessitate a decided advance on the part of the Senate over the position which it has heretofore assumed in regard to arbitration treaties, for it provides that if the nations concerned cannot agree upon a definition of the subject matter of a controversy to be submitted, it shall be defined by the court or arbitral board.

The Senate's Power over Treaties

In most countries the executive branch of the government is able to negotiate treaties with a fair assurance that they will be ratified, but this is not true so far as the United States is concerned, for the constitution requires the consent of the Senate by a two-thirds vote. This fact gives a ready veto power to the opposition party in that body, or to any small

group who are either honestly opposed to a treaty or disposed to embarrass the administration.

It is worth noting that it was by a vote of six states to five that the Constitutional Convention determined that a two-thirds majority of the Senate instead of a majority should be required for ratification of treaties. Three considerations led to giving the Senate as much power as this over foreign policies. The states were accustomed under the Articles of Confederation to the negotiation of treaties by the representatives of the states; the limitation at every possible point of the power of the executive was regarded as essential; its relations with foreign nations were looked upon necessarily as holding the greatest threat to the new democracy. The Senate has jealously guarded its power over foreign affairs, allotted to it by so close a vote, to the repeated embarrassment of the executive, and frequent disturbance of our relations with other countries—whether to the ultimate good of the country or not it is difficult to determine.

Various attempts have been made to assure ratification of a treaty by obtaining the opinion of the Senate during its negotiation. Washington accepted the constitutional provision that the President was to negotiate treaties "with the advice and consent of the Senate" literally, and, holding that the Senate was to act as a kind of council to the President in these matters, went in person to get its opinion on the provisions of an Indian treaty negotiated in the first year of his administration. The senators were

reluctant to permit a vote to be taken while the President was on the floor, for fear certain members might be overawed by his presence. Consideration, to Washington's obvious disturbance, was postponed to a later day, and an attempt was made to refer the matter to a committee. Washington returned on the day appointed and the treaty was finally ratified, but the tactics of the Senate had so annoyed him that he left in what was described as "sullen dignity," and declared, according to John Quincy Adams' memoirs, that "he would be damned if ever he went there again." This incident is related by Dr. Denna F. Fleming, who gives a complete and dramatic account in his recent book, *The Treaty Veto of the American Senate*, of the history of the relations between the Senate and the executive.

On several occasions the proposed terms of a treaty have been submitted to the Senate with the names of those appointed to negotiate it. In more recent years an attempt has been made to secure the good-will of the Senate through early consultation with the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, or by the appointment of influential members of both parties to treaty-making bodies. There are various grounds on which senators object to this latter practise, since they hold it tends to commit members to the support of the treaty in advance of its consideration by the Senate.

Aside from its desire to safeguard its own prestige, the existence of certain special questions has made the Senate reluctant to ratify arbitration agreements.

These are questions concerning the Monroe Doctrine, "domestic" policies such as immigration, and existing debts to European investors incurred for commercial, not for war purposes, as is often supposed, by certain Southern states before and following the Civil War. These debts have been repudiated, and the federal government under existing constitutional requirements can neither compel the states to pay nor make payment itself. Behind all its hesitations is the fact that the Senate, to use a phrase of Hiram Motherwell's in *The Imperial Dollar*, still pictures the United States as "an economic and cultural colony of Europe, to be protected against the craft and might of an older civilization." Its new position of world power and new responsibility are not yet appreciated.

Politics, and often very personal politics, has also been an important influence in the Senate's opposition to ratification of treaties. An attempt to negotiate an arbitration treaty during Cleveland's administration was defeated by free silver senators, supporters of Bryan and bitter enemies of Cleveland. The Senate is said to have insisted in the Roosevelt treaties upon control over the *compromis* because of Roosevelt's tendency to act independently of the Senate. The Taft treaties were opposed by Roosevelt, at that time the bitter opponent of Taft, and by Roosevelt supporters in the Senate.

The veto power over treaties granted the Senate was labeled by John Hay the "irreparable mistake" of the Constitution. The power of ratification is given to the lower houses of national legis-

lative bodies of virtually all other nations, while the power to amend treaties, if it exists, is not exercised. Various changes in the treaty-making power in this government have been proposed, from requiring a majority instead of a two-thirds vote, to transferring the entire treaty-making power of the Senate to the House, supposedly more responsive to the will of the people.

Short of some such radical change by constitutional amendment, the one hope of working up from "the tail of the procession of nations" advancing toward the judicial settlement of international disputes is in bringing public opinion to bear more effectively upon those senators who attempt to hold back the tide toward world unity and interdependence. The difficulty in such matters as international treaties is that while there may be a large well informed public in favor of progressive action, it is a public scattered throughout the nation. The number of informed and interested voters among any given senator's constituents is usually small. Education in international affairs must reach down to the small community before it will be effectively reflected in the Senate. Embarrassingly clear evidence of how behindhand we are in accepting arbitration was offered recently in the Parliament of Holland when one of its members protested against the ratification of a new arbitration treaty the United States had proposed on the ground that it would be a step backward as compared with the post-war treaties Holland had signed with other nations.

2. The World Court and the League of Nations

THE DELAY of the United States in joining the World Court, to which fifty-four of the other nations of the world belong, is difficult to explain. A world court is admitted to be indispensable to world peace. The adoption of the Kellogg Pact, with its requirement for the pacific settlement of all disputes, would necessitate the creation of a court if one were not already in existence. Chief Justice Hughes, shortly before his appointment to the Supreme Court, summarized the situation before the American Society of International Law by asking the following questions:

Should there be provision for the judicial settlement of international disputes? That question admits of but one answer. . . .

What shall be the tribunal? The choice is plainly between arbitrators selected for a particular case or a permanent international court. . . . Are arbitrators chosen for the particular case likely to be better qualified or more impartial than the judges of a permanent court? Speaking for myself in the light of experience, I should rather submit an important case of the United States to a permanent court of international justice. . . .

If a permanent court is desirable, what permanent court shall it be? The answer is that there is but one, so far as we can see into the future there will be but

one—the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. . . .

Although the idea of a World Court can be traced to individual statesmen and philosophers as far back as Dante, the first government seriously to propose the creation of such a court was the United States. The United States delegates to the first Hague Conference were instructed to work for the establishment of a court of law. This "American plan" was modified and resulted in the creation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, known as the Hague Tribunal. At the second Hague Conference the Americans again proposed a court of law, but it was found impossible to find a method of electing judges agreeable to both the great and smaller powers.

The establishment of a world court was again a part of the American plan for a League of Nations at the end of the World War. When, in 1920, a committee was formed by the League to draw up a statute for the Court it was the American jurist, Elihu Root, who finally solved the problem of the election of judges by leaving it to the Assembly and Council of the League as representing respectively the small and large nations. In addition to the fact that the Court is a direct outgrowth of proposals made by American statesmen, this country's experience in connection with the Supreme Court, which may be looked upon as a forerunner and advance experiment, should lead to confidence in the World Court and definitely encourage adherence.

The Supreme Court and the World Court

The Supreme Court was accepted by the people of the United States, in spite of the risks involved, because they recognized the pressing economic and political necessity for a stable and orderly government. A similar necessity confronts the nations of the world today, making the acceptance of the World Court equally imperative.

Charles Warren, in *The Supreme Court and Sovereign States* says of the establishment of the Supreme Court:

Never before in history had there existed a Court with the powers which this new tribunal was to exercise. For the first time there now came into existence a permanent court, which should have the power to summon before it sovereign states in dispute, and to determine their respective rights by a judgment which should be enforceable against them. Such a Court, with such functions, is the most original, the most distinctively American contribution to political science to be found in the Constitution.

The willingness of the states to set up such a court was declared by John Quincy Adams to have been due to "grinding necessity." Chief Justice White said, in Virginia v. West Virginia (1918):

The fact that in the Convention, so far as the published debates disclose, the provisions . . . were adopted without debate, it may be inferred, resulted from the necessity of their enactment, as shown by

the experiences of the colonies and by the spectre of turmoil, if not war, which . . . had so recently arisen from disputes between the States, a danger against the recurrence of which there was a common purpose efficiently to provide.

The history of the Supreme Court encourages the belief that decisions of the World Court will be upheld even though there is no power behind the Court other than that of public opinion. It has been held that the executive branch of the United States government has ultimately the same power to enforce decisions of the Supreme Court as to enforce the laws of the country; and that power exists in Congress to provide for the execution of the Court's judgments, but it has never been necessary to make use of force. Although in various instances states have delayed several years before fulfilling the provisions of a decision, public opinion has always proved sufficient in the end to bring about their compliance with the Court's orders. In the debates leading to the creation of the Court it was agreed that armed force could not be used against a state, since if it were used, punishment would be imposed upon innocent individuals as well as upon those who were guilty.

Reservations by the Senate

The opposition of certain senators to the World Court has been based in large part on the fear that membership in the Court might involve us too closely in the League of Nations, thereby threatening our full

sovereignty, or that we might in some way be committed by advisory opinions of the Court.

Although the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations as bodies representative of, in general, the large and small nations of the world elect the judges of the Court from a list of jurists nominated by the national groups composing the Hague Tribunal, the Court has no direct connection with the League. It was established under a separate statute or constitution. The League has no representative on the Court and no power of enforcing decisions, and a judge is removable only by the unanimous action of the other judges.

As to advisory opinions, it has been said that the rendering of advisory opinions is contrary to American practise, but though the United States Supreme Court does not have such power, various state supreme courts do. Furthermore, as this statement of Mr. George W. Wickersham shows, the World Court has adopted rules in regard to advisory opinions which entirely change their character:

> The principal objections to the practise of a court rendering an opinion at the instance of the executive or legislative branch of a government always has been that in effect it was a decision of an unargued case. The World Court, very wisely at the outset, adopted rules to the effect that when an application was made to it for an opinion, it would give notice to all states . . . which seemed to have an interest in the question, of the request, and that the Court would hear argument at the bar by any one of those parties

claiming to be interested in the subject, and render a decision only after the fullest argument pro and con. This in effect has turned the procedure of the application for an opinion into what, in modern practise, is known as an application for a declaratory judgment. It has enabled the Court to settle principles of law after full consideration of all sides of the question; and by settling the rules of law applicable to the controversy, in more than one instance, it has made possible the adjustment of an international complication which might otherwise have been incapable of peaceful solution.

The Root Protocol

The five reservations with which the United States Senate finally voted in 1926 for adherence to the Court covered these points: The first reservation provides that adherence shall not involve the United States in any legal relation with the League of Nations or in the assumption of any obligations under the Treaty of Versailles; the second provides that the United States shall participate equally with other nations in the election of judges; the third, that it shall pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court; the fourth, that it may at any time withdraw its adherence, and that the statute of the Court shall not be amended without the consent of the United States; the fifth, that the Court shall not render any advisory opinion without the consent of the United States on any question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

The only reservation to which the other nations did not readily agree was the fifth, having to do with the rendering of advisory opinions. This function of the Court had proved so valuable in connection with European controversies that the members were not willing to endanger it. They were, however, entirely willing that the United States should have an equal voice with other members of the Court in determining whether or not an advisory opinion should be rendered. They asked that the matter be discussed, but we declined. Finally, after prolonged consideration and consultation with jurists here and abroad, Mr. Root proposed what is now known as the Root Protocol, which may be summed up perhaps in this way: If a proposal is made in the Council or Assembly to request an advisory opinion from the Court, the United States is to be notified and an opportunity is to be provided for an exchange of views. When a request reaches the Court, the United States is to have a second opportunity to express an objection. If it has an objection, the other nations may decide whether it is more important to have the advisory opinion or to have the continued membership of the United States in the Court. If an advisory opinion is demanded contrary to its expressed objection, the United States may withdraw without any implication of unfriendliness, or it may decide that the advantages of membership are of more importance than the effect of the advisory opinion and remain a member of the Court.

The Root Protocol was accepted during the meet-

ing of the Assembly of the League in 1929 by the nations which are members of the Court. The United States has signed the protocol, but the President had not submitted this new agreement to the Senate for ratification at the close of the special session in 1930.

What the Court Is and Does

The Court consists of fifteen judges who are chosen "regardless of their nationality," though it is to be borne in mind in selecting them that the whole body should represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. The members are elected for nine years and may be reelected. The Court meets regularly once a year and holds as many special sessions as necessary. All sessions are held in the Peace Palace at The Hague. Cases may be brought before the Court only by national governments, but they may be brought by any national government whether or not it is a member of the Court. Decisions of the Court are by majority vote, and the reasons for them must be published. A decision has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of the particular case and rests solely upon the power of public opinion for its enforcement.

While the United States hesitates over simple adherence, forty-two other nations, including France, Italy, Germany, and Great Britain, have signed, and twenty-seven, including Great Britain, Germany, and

France (since its action on the General Act is held tantamount to ratification), have ratified the Optional Clause by which they agree in advance to submit to the Court all disputes of a legal nature. Under the Optional Clause, both parties having agreed to submit certain disputes, either party may summon the other before the Court. The granting of such a degree of compulsory jurisdiction to a world tribunal marks a notable advance in the acceptance of judicial settlement of international disputes.

The first session of the World Court was held in 1922, and during the first eight years of its existence it has rendered sixteen decisions and sixteen advisory opinions. All nations involved in these decisions have acquiesced without protest. In at least one case in which France was involved, the French judge has sided against France. M. Briand, referring to the Court's decision in the Lotus dispute between France and Turkey concerning a collision of ships at sea, declared before the Assembly of the League:

I feel that the countries which bring up cases for judgment and lose them should not consider they have lost anything of their dignity. I felt nothing of the kind when I heard we had lost the case to which I have just referred. I did not feel humiliated, and I find the result has been that we have had closer bonds of friendship with the country concerned, enabling us since then to solve other problems, because, even though in some cases we lose, we can feel that the fact of having spared the nations the horrors of war constitutes in itself a victory.

The World Value of the League of Nations

Quite apart from whether the United States should or should not join the League of Nations is the question of the value of the League in the modern world to this country, and to the other nine states which are not members as well as to the fifty-four nations which are. To the steadily growing number of Americans who have visited Geneva and seen the League at work, or who have studied its accomplishments, it is always a matter of surprise that the American people as a whole do not seem to realize the great experiment, the great adventure, which the people of the world are carrying on through the League, and in which to a very large extent we ourselves are sharing. During the first few months after the League's formal establishment the government of the United States refused to admit its existence, even by answering communications from it. But that time has long passed. Our officials clearly recognize its influence and importance, and our representatives share in the work of practically all its commissions.

The plan according to which the League is organized and the rules governing its activities and methods of procedure are embodied in what is known as the Covenant of the League. The League is composed of three bodies. The Assembly is the large representative body in which every member nation has one vote and to which it may send three delegates. It meets every autumn and attempts to con-

clude its work within three weeks. The Council consists of representatives of the larger powers, including Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and Germany, and delegates from nine other states elected by the Assembly in groups of three to hold temporary seats for periods of three years. The Secretariat, or permanent body of experts and clerical assistants, includes some five hundred men and women of forty nationalities through whom information, based on such a collection of organized facts as no single government could have assembled, has been made available for the intelligent consideration of new and complex questions.

To aid it in its various tasks the League appoints permanent and temporary advisory commissions of experts who are chosen not alone from the nations which belong to the League but from other nations. It also forms technical committees to deal with problems of communication, with economic and financial problems, and with problems of health. Special international conferences of great importance have been held, such as the World Economic Conference, the Conference on the Codification of International Law, and the Preparatory Disarmament Conference. Through these committees and conferences, in which the United States almost invariably participates, there is going on a constant exchange of views among the governments of the world.

When the Assembly meets, the Council's report for the year is followed by a discussion lasting several days. Differences between nations are openly dis-

cussed, while four hundred newspaper correspondents telegraph the opposing views to all corners of the earth. Never before has there been such an opportunity for the creation of an intelligent public opinion or for the effective expression of general opinion on international affairs. More than once representatives have turned to their governments for new instructions because they felt the weight of world opinion in disapproval of their announced policy.

The terms of the Covenant of the League are technical, the names of its committees are abstract and formal, and their reports are not always easy reading; but behind these unrolls a panorama of human adventure and human drama in which the characters are peoples of many nations and many races. The rescue of the people of Austria from starving poverty caused by that country's desperate financial situation was one of the first tasks performed by the League, and by restoring Austria it not only prevented a possible second outbreak of war but helped to restore the whole of Europe.

Something of the way in which the League protects the people of the world against the spread of disease has already been told. Under it a Child Welfare Committee, on which Julia Lathrop is an advisory member, is at work to protect the health and improve social conditions affecting children. An International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation is planning ways and means of educating children for the modern interdependent world, publishing suggestions for school projects, making student

travel cheaper and easier, promoting exchanges between libraries and museums, increasing international knowledge of art and music, and endeavoring to make motion pictures serve the cause of international goodwill. The International Labor Organization is an independent part of the League, through which a constant worldwide effort is going on to improve the conditions of labor and establish uniform standards. It was created as one means of carrying out the League's purpose of effecting world peace by improving the conditions that imperil peace—injustice, hardship, privation and consequent unrest. It offers the first example of an international body in which votes are cast according to group interests, labor and capital as well as governments having their representatives.

The purpose of the League of Nations is twofold: "to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security." If any member of the League believes that a situation exists which threatens war, it has the "friendly right," since any war affects the interests of all nations, to call that situation to the attention of the Secretary General, who is to summon a meeting of the Council. Members of the League are pledged to submit any dispute of a legal nature to the World Court or to arbitration, and to lay all other disputes before the Council or Assembly for investigation and decision. If the decision reached is unanimous the nations agree to accept it as final; if it is not unanimous they agree not to go to war until three months after it has been

rendered. In any case, the facts and recommendations are to be made public.

Secret treaties, which have always been a danger to peace, have been eliminated under the League by the provision that no treaty is binding unless registered. The system of mandates which placed certain of the less advanced nations under the care of the more advanced, promotes peace by requiring equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all members of the League in these regions. The Covenant recognizes reduction of armaments as necessary to peace, and committees are constantly at work on this project. In its Armaments Yearbook the Covenant makes public the extent of national armaments, and it is endeavoring to curb the evils of private manufacture of arms and munitions.

Yet in spite of all this effort and machinery set in operation on behalf of peace, one of the arguments which led the United States to refuse to join the League was that it might through membership become involved in war. This argument was based on what is known as "the gap" in the Covenant, which permits member states, if a dispute between them is not settled by a unanimous decision of the Council, to engage in hostilities after a period of three months, and on the sanctions or penalties which under the Covenant are to be imposed upon a nation breaking its pledges. In case a state fails to carry out its pledges in regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes, the Council may call upon the other nations to sever financial and economic relations

with it, and may call upon them, though it cannot compel them, to engage in military action against it.

The League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact

Immediately upon the adoption of the Kellogg Pact, an effort was begun to close the gap in the Covenant and modify the sanctions in order to make it as definitely prohibitive of war as is the Pact itself. A committee of eleven jurists and experts in international affairs was appointed by the League Assembly in September, 1929, to harmonize the two treaties. The important changes it has proposed concern Article XII, which at present leaves the way open for resort to war if the Council cannot unanimously agree upon the settlement of a dispute, and Article XV, which leaves the way open for member states to take "such action as they see fit" in case the dispute is not settled by the Council. These articles, if modified according to the committee's suggestions, would provide instead that:

Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will have recourse only to pacific means for its settlement. If the disagreement continues, the dispute will be submitted either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council. Members of the League agree they will in no case resort to war for the solution of their differences.

If the Council cannot make a unanimous decision, it is to "examine the procedure best suited to meet

the case and recommend it to the parties." There is no longer any reference to the right of members of the League to take "such action as they see fit" in case a unanimous decision is not rendered.

As for the so-called sanctions, when the Covenant of the League was adopted it was assumed that the United States would be a member, and that therefore any state which had taken aggressive action against another state would, under the Covenant, find itself economically isolated and might be forced to defend itself against the military forces of the rest of the world. Since the United States is not a member of the League, the question arises as to whether, if the members of the League decide that one nation has been guilty of aggressive action against another, the United States may insist upon continuing its economic relations with that nation or even support it with military assistance. Under these conditions sanctions, or general guarantees of security such as were provided locally under the Locarno treaties, are impractical.

Supplementing the Pact

It is now urged that under the Kellogg Pact there can be no neutral nations; that no nation, having signed that Pact, can continue relations with a state which breaks it. But the question remains as to how it is to be decided which nation has broken its pledge. During the negotiation of the Pact it was said by Senator Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, that it was "quite inconceivable that

this country would stand idly by in case of a grave breach of a multilateral treaty to which it is a party," and he went on:

. . . the Government of the United States must reserve the right to decide, in the first place, whether or not the treaty has been violated, and second, what coercive measures it feels obliged to take. . . . In such a crisis we would consult with the other signatories and take their judgment into account. But we should not bind ourselves in advance to accept their decision if it runs counter to our own conclusion.

Charles Evans Hughes said before the American Society of International Law in April, 1929:

While the institutions of peace are being perfected, there is one notable lack. That is with reference to our participation in the effort to maintain the peace of the world in case it is threatened by acts of aggression on the part of any state which is a party to the anti-war treaty. Our government is not a member of the League of Nations and cannot participate as a member in its activities. It may, however, appropriately take part, and has always been ready to take part, in international conferences in the interest of peace.

The United States government did consult with other nations in the Russian-Chinese Crisis of 1929, and at that time a proposal was made by the Secretary of State to supplement the Pact by an agreement for investigation and report, thereby making it possible to call into play the public opinion upon

which alone the Pact depends for its enforcement. It has been suggested that, partly as a means of creating an informed public opinion, a separate council of conciliation might be created to which states signatory to the Kellogg Pact could submit political differences, much as members of the League of Nations now submit theirs to the Council of the League. It is proposed by the Committee on Educational Publicity that the prohibition of war, instead of being embodied only in a treaty from which any nation may withdraw, be accepted by international enactment as a basic principle of international law.

Salmon O. Levinson, author of the outlawry of war idea, in declaring that he believes the attitude of European statesmen is changing in regard to the practicability of sanctions based on force, has proposed four interesting "sanctions of peace" based on public opinion, which he says must be "educated, alert, conscious of its power, and able to function." He proposes: First, an international agreement by which any annexations of territory by means of war or under the threat of war shall be null and void. Second, that any person advocating the use of war in violation of the Kellogg Pact with the intent of causing war shall be guilty of a felony. Third, that the World Court shall be given the power to investigate a charge of the breach of the Kellogg Pact and to make reports of the facts in aid of the formation of public opinion. And fourth, an agreement among the nations, in case of a threatened breach of the

Pact, "to communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to acquire the fullest knowledge of the situation and to consider the most efficient pacific measures to be taken jointly or separately. . . ."

There is a rapidly growing belief that the United States can, without any danger whatever, agree in case war threatens to consult with the other powers as to the best means of maintaining peace; that indeed the danger lies all the other way, in our refusing to consult with them.

As early as 1919 the late Senator Knox, an opponent of the League of Nations, offered in the Senate a proposal for just such consultation between the United States and other nations as is now urged. It read as follows:

If a situation should arise in which any power should directly or indirectly menace the freedom and peace of Europe, the United States would regard such situation with grave concern as a menace to its own freedom and peace, and would consult with other powers affected with a view to concerted action for the removal of such menace.

The position of the United States in regard to peace is a contradictory and baffling one. Someone has suggested that we are trying to eat our cake and have it too; that we want peace but do not want to pay a price for it.

Dr. Clyde Eagleton, Professor of Government at New York University, said recently before the American Society of International Law, "The world

is waiting for the United States to act in behalf of peace. The hands-off policy of this country in the efforts of European nations to effect treaties and organizations to insure this peace is the greatest obstacle to a forward movement." Why do we delay joining the World Court? Why are we unwilling to further the necessary world organization by membership in the League of Nations? Why do we, by failing to join these bodies, risk the organization of the world into competing continental units?

There is no question but that peace has been a recognized ideal of the United States since it was established as a democratic government. There is no question but that the influence and leadership of its most important statesmen have been on the side of peace. They have proposed the various instrumentalities of peace which it now repudiates. The difficulty apparently is that whereas a policy of national peace was originally one more means of securing the isolation of the United States from European affairs, national peace today means world peace, which cannot be achieved except through joint action with Europe.

If peace is desirable, if it is an advantage to us as well as to the rest of the world, we are honorably bound to play our part and assume our responsibility in maintaining it, for the indisputable fact of the present world moment is that the United States is the dominant nation, and that as it goes, so goes the world.

PART THREE

WHAT DELAYS THE ABANDONMENT OF WAR?

1. Nationalistic Policies

WAR TODAY is a total loss, a heavy burden, an obstruction to progress. Other means exist for the settlement of international disputes. Why can we not be rid of it?

A large part of the answer to that question is suggested in the old saying, "Possession is nine points of the law." The war system, handed down from a world totally unlike our own, exists; and having existed for many centuries, is deeply entangled in our economic policies, in our educational theories, in every phase of our national life. Its hold on our emotions will continue until we learn to achieve by other means the objectives which were once achieved by war and which are valued beyond life. The hold of war will be broken when peace is seen to be an economic necessity, when it becomes an educational objective, when it is felt as an emotional need.

It is conceivable that a spiritual transformation or sudden intellectual enlightenment resembling a religious conversion might take place which would lead to an immediate and definite abandonment of war and to a reconstruction of all international relations. But failing such a miracle the world makes peace bit

by bit, attempts to have peace without quite giving up war, and finds itself in consequence caught in a succession of vicious circles.

Our national activities, our policies, our attitudes of mind are what they are because our international relations are based fundamentally upon acceptance of the principle of war. These activities, policies and attitudes in their turn imply war and tend toward it. Nations whose industrial system is based on uninterrupted exchange of products and general prosperity continue to raise tariff walls, and to restrict the movement of raw materials and capital, on the old theory that political units can and should be economically self-sufficient. Nations which have renounced war increase their armaments and experiment with poison gas. Governments which labor for peace undermine their efforts by training their young people for war, and continue to interpret patriotism in terms of military service.

What economic practices, what government policies, what popular attitudes of mind are today obstacles to peace?

War in an Economically United World

It is frequently said that behind every war lies an economic need, the desire of a group to better in some way the material conditions of its life. Inequality in the distribution of the riches of the earth has meant that the natural effort to fulfil this desire has led to rivalry and conflict. Inequality and the desire for

improvement will persist, and it follows that there will continue to be conflicts of economic interests.

In the primitive days, when one people desired actually to occupy the fertile agricultural or grazing land of another, their object could be achieved by war, victory profited all the group, and war was therefore the natural outcome of conflicting interests. Later, when the object desired was assured access to distant lands for purposes of trade, and later still, when it was control of the natural resources and unexploited markets of new or backward lands, these too could be achieved by armed force, and war logically followed. It was held to be economically justified in these instances on the theory that such control in the hands of any members of a group profited the whole group.

Let it be admitted that war will continue to result in the case of any grave economic struggle of a people for its livelihood as long as it is generally believed that by war the end desired will be achieved. No claim as to a change in human nature or in the strength of the economic motive needs to be made by those who believe that, although economic conflicts between citizens of different nations may grow more rather than less intense, war will be abandoned. The decisive factor is the growing realization that the economic interests behind war have long been the interests only of the few, and that, in the modern relatively uniform and economically united world, general prosperity cannot be achieved by war, and even the few profit only temporarily. Such a statement does not imply an exclusively economic inter-

pretation of history; it implies rather that the fundamental unity of mankind, long felt and proclaimed by seers and prophets, has today become so obvious, so tangible, that it is penetrating the consciousness of all men.

If economic questions were today uncomplicated by political considerations, the strong tendency would be toward practical compromises, since conflict is unprofitable, and present economic problems are not such as can be solved by force. The natural ill will of economic rivalry is turned to suspicion and fear when governments, with armed forces ready at hand, intensify economic conflicts by associating with them political purposes and applying political pressure. The persistence of governments in the old effort to attain national economic self-sufficiency, which is wholly futile since the economic unit has grown from the nation, to the nation empire, to the world, is recognized as "still one of the strongest influences poisoning the international atmosphere." The imposition of tariffs for purposes of political retaliation, the use of foreign loans as a political club to influence government policies, are equally dangerous. In other words, governments have renounced war but continue to pursue policies and to employ methods that were appropriate when war was a practical and accepted last resort.

Present economic demands which carry the threat of war are due to the spread of industrialization through the world—to exactly the same cause which lies behind the international interdependence

that makes the avoidance of conflicts so important. Mechanical production of goods necessitates large amounts of raw materials which all nations to a greater or less extent must obtain from foreign countries. The old fear of being shut off from supplies, particularly in case of war, has led during recent years to worldwide rivalry, particularly between Great Britain and the United States, for control of the sources of supply of important industrial materials, notably rubber and oil. The fact that the navies of the world now burn oil helps to explain the great importance put upon the control of oil supplies.

Control of communication lines by individual governments is supposed both to endanger the trade secrets of other governments and to weaken their defense in case of war; insistence, growing out of the fear of war, on achieving or maintaining such control is in its turn a source of friction and suspicion. The struggle for control in this field is most acute at present in connection with the development of cable and radio communication, the countries chiefly involved being again Great Britain and the United States. Some form of international control is frequently proposed as the way out of this dilemma. Already under the League of Nations a Commission on Communication and Transit has been created to work on the problem of the international organization of transportation and communication in the interests of all the peoples of the world. Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain of Columbia University recently said in discussing this question:

Business is today international. The movement of goods and of passengers by water, by land, by air, and that of ideas by mail, by telegraph, by radio, does not respect artificial national boundaries; nor can it do so if the needs of individuals living in different countries are to be satisfied. . . . If this great trade is to be subject to regulation at the will of each state that it crosses, the business of the world cannot be successfully carried on, and a dangerous source of irritation, which will almost certainly lead to war, will be created.

Mechanical production means also a surplus of products which must be sold in foreign markets, and consequent rivalry for markets which may conceivably become a life and death struggle. Danger arises chiefly when fear engendered in one country by the belief that another will prefer war to loss of economic advantage, is followed on both sides by preparations for war.

Unequal distribution of population also tends, now that there are few unsettled areas, to an attempted expansion by certain governments at the expense of others, or to restrictions seriously interfering with natural development.

The political reaction to any of these conflicts of interest may be the habitual reaction of war if governments are permitted by their peoples to ignore changed world conditions. To insure a change from old policies to new there must be a pressure upon government officials of public opinion, enlightened by a knowledge of the new facts of world life, sufficient

to offset the inertia of habitual methods and the influences of special interests which desire to have old policies continued.

One evidence of such public opinion is to be found in a series of international economic conferences that have been held since the war. Business leaders of Europe and America organized in 1921 the International Chamber of Commerce for the promotion of "peace and prosperity," which has declared that "the chief responsibility of government" is the solution of the problem of removing the fear of war, and has repeatedly pointed out that the general economic welfare of all countries is a necessary foundation for the prosperity of any one country.

In 1926 the bankers of sixteen nations, including several of influence from the United States, issued a manifesto calling for the reduction of tariffs and all trade barriers in the interests of the economic recovery of the world. In 1927 the first World Economic Conference, called by the League of Nations and composed of the financial experts of fifty nations including the United States, urged that national economic policies be given continuous attention, since "world peace depends largely upon the principles on which the economic policies of nations are framed and executed." It declared further that the economic question of trade barriers is not exclusively a national problem but one requiring the concerted action of governments, and that "the time has come to put an end to an increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction." An international Confer-

ence for the Abolition of Import and Export Restrictions, held in 1927, and a Customs Truce Conference held in 1930, while they did not achieve important modifications of tariff policies other than certain agreements for no increases during a period of one year, did recognize the need of regulating commercial relations by general agreements, and "of organizing more rationally the production and circulation of wealth and removing unjustifiable hindrances to international trade." The gap between theory and practice in this field arises at least in part from the fact that the rank and file of the people who influence the action of government officials are in general uninformed, and that political parties hesitate to alter policies when to alter them means the admission of previous error.

Certain aspects of the problems indicated above, chiefly as they affect the people of the United States, are discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

Tariffs and Trade Restrictions

If changed economic conditions throughout the world are requiring a complete alteration of international relations, the United States is under a double necessity to reconsider its foreign policy. Within some fifteen years its own situation has changed from that of a nation in debt to the rest of the world and needing foreign capital and large numbers of foreign laborers for the development of its resources, and from that of an exporter chiefly of foodstuffs actually

needed by other nations, to that of a creditor nation with surplus capital seeking foreign fields of investment, a labor supply at least adequate to its needs, and an overproduction of manufactured goods necessitating foreign markets but not compelling foreign purchase. Its tariff legislation, however, proceeds as if nothing had happened for fifty years.

A thousand American economists and teachers of economics issued, while the 1930 tariff bill was pending, a declaration which sets forth the important facts on this question, and which is given in part below:

Increased protective duties would operate, in general, to increase the prices which domestic consumers would have to pay. By raising prices they would encourage concerns with higher costs to undertake production, thus compelling the consumer to subsidize waste and inefficiency in industry. At the same time they would force him to pay higher rates of profit to established firms which enjoyed lower production costs. A higher level of protection would therefore raise the cost of living. Our export trade in general would suffer. Countries cannot permanently buy from us unless they are permitted to sell to us. . . . There are already many evidences that such action would inevitably provoke other countries to pay us back in kind by levying retaliatory duties against our goods. . . . Already our factories supply our people with over ninety-six per cent of the manufactured goods which they consume, and our producers look to foreign markets to absorb the increasing output of their machines. Further barriers to trade will serve them not well, but ill. . . .

America is now facing the problem of unemployment. Her labor can find work only if her factories can sell their products. We cannot increase employment by restricting trade. . . .

Finally, we would urge our government to consider the bitterness which a policy of higher tariffs would inevitably inject into our international relations. . . . The higher duties proposed in our pending legislation plainly invite other nations to compete with us in raising further barriers to trade. A tariff war does not furnish good soil for the growth of world peace.

In regard to the present tariff law adopted in 1930, protests from thirty-five governments, representing a great variety of business interests and many millions of workers, were sent to the State Department. There have of course been frequent threats of retaliation in past years, but until recently, as Henry Kittredge Norton points out, however much a foreign nation might resent the handicaps we placed upon its export trade, it was forced to go on buying from us in its own interest, for our exports were almost entirely food materials of which it stood in need. Today it is manufactured goods which we must sell if our industrial facilities are not to lie idle and our workers be unemployed. Furthermore, as a creditor nation, if we are to be paid what other nations owe us we must make it easy rather than difficult for them to sell their goods.

Although under refunding agreements we cancelled a considerable amount of the debt contracted by foreign nations in the war period, we are still de-

manding payment of some eleven billion dollars. The fact that we have demanded payment of these debts, incurred in prosecution of a common war has been accepted but never cheerfully accepted by European nations. Much of the ill will felt against the United States is due to the fact that, poor as they are and rich as we are, they are still compelled to make these payments. Such resentment has been greatly increased by the imposition of tariffs which render that payment even more difficult, or, as some economists believe, impossible.

As a matter of fact it is not a question at all of what other nations may do by way of retaliation. France has already made the importation of motor cars from the United States practically impossible and greatly restricted the importation of our canned goods. Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria have set limits to the number of cars to be received from any one country, a discrimination which affects the United States alone. Australia has increased the duty on automobile and motorcycle parts fifty per cent, restricted other imports to half the amount imported the preceding year, and drawn up an exhaustive list of goods which can be imported only with the consent of the Minister of Foreign Trade, while practically every item not on this list is subject to fifty per cent increase over previous duties.

In direct answer to the United States tariff proposals, Canada put into effect in May, 1930, the most extensive revision of its tariff since 1907. American trade amounting to between $175,000,000 and

$250,000,000 is affected. On livestock and a large variety of foreign products rates have been raised to equal those imposed by other countries on the same products from Canada. On fresh vegetables the tariff is increased to thirty per cent and on fresh fruits to twenty-five per cent. Under the new rates our iron, steel and machinery industries are seriously affected by the greatly increased preference given British products.

In South America the effect of our tariff policy has been most marked in connection with our trade with the Argentine Republic. The resentment of Argentina toward the United States, which has affected the attitude of other Latin American countries as well, is due largely to its belief that restrictions imposed by the United States have been designed to prevent Argentina from developing any export trade to this country. Argentina has five major articles of export to the United States: flaxseed, corn, casein, beef, and hides. In 1930 Congress increased the duties on flaxseed, corn and casein, and put hides on the dutiable list. Beef from Argentina is absolutely excluded under a ruling by the Department of Agriculture which is declared by Argentina to be unjustified and discriminatory.

At the Pan American Conference held in Havana in 1927, Argentina's representative demanded a declaration in opposition to high customs barriers between the American republics, recalling the proposal of Secretary of State Blaine at the first Pan American Conference in 1899 for a customs union

among the states of the western hemisphere. When the United States protested against such a declaration the proposal was ignored and the representative of Argentina resigned. Argentina was not represented at the Washington Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration which followed the Havana Conference, has appointed no ambassador to Washington for two years, and failed to sign the Kellogg Pact. The sugar tariff has been vigorously protested by Cuban producers and its result upon Cuba's chief industry cannot yet be foretold, but it is believed by many that it will be so severe as to lead to political disturbances.

Other results of erecting a high tariff wall around the large free trade area of the United States have been proposals for a customs union among European nations, and for a reciprocal tariff system among the parts of the British Empire. The nations of Europe realize that they are confronted by the same necessity which compelled free trade among the states of this country. The question is how soon the fact that this necessity confronts the world as a whole will be appreciated.

In this aspect of world economic affairs as in various others, our responsibility for developing sound policies is great because our power is great. Perhaps the place to begin as far as the tariff is concerned is by recognizing the tariff as a national rather than a local interest. If we can learn to see it in terms of the welfare of the whole nation we cannot fail to see it in terms of the welfare of the world. Dr. Alfred P.

Dennis, Vice Chairman of the Tariff Commission, in speaking on this point said recently:

In our tariff making we have been compelled to subordinate the national interest to the demand of the localities. We pay out about $7,000,000 a year in duties on imported olive oil to protect a circumscribed district in California that produces less than 15,000 gallons a year, or about one and one-quarter per cent of our consumption. At one-hundredth of the cost to the consumer we could give the California industry the same amount of benefit through a straight out subsidy of $70,000 a year and at the same time promote better trade relations with the Mediterranean countries.

We import about 2,000,000 bushels of corn, chiefly for poultry feeding, from Argentina. This import is about one-fiftieth of one per cent of our domestic corn production. The new tariff bill raises the duty on corn from 15 cents to 25 cents per bushel. We sell Argentine people about $180,000,000 worth of goods, of which $16,000,000 goes into agricultural machinery, much of which is used in the cultivation of their corn. . . .

If we breed antagonism we may expect American business to be hopelessly harassed to the four corners of the globe. In our trade with the world we shall come to recognize more and more that we stand to profit by trading with rather than against our rivals. In time we shall come to regard foreign peoples more in the light of customers than of rivals. . . .

Imperialistic Tendencies

Imperialism, or, roughly speaking, the self-interested control of the resources, territory, or policies of weak governments by the more advanced, long the policy of European powers, and with its attendant rivalries a constant source of friction and frequent cause of war, is now freely charged against the United States. The facts behind the charge are very briefly these:

The annexation of Hawaii marked the beginning of a period when the accumulated surplus capital in this country sought opportunities for investment, and a rapidly developing industry desired access to raw materials and larger markets. It was these motives also which lay behind our taking Cuba and the Philippines from Spain, although in those cases there were likewise questions of defense and military strategy.

The building of the Panama Canal inaugurated a period during which the efforts of this government to control the smaller states of the Caribbean area have been based chiefly on the desire to maintain assured control of the Canal area in case of war. Considered as part of the system of national defense, these latter policies, notably in Haiti and Nicaragua, have been carried out in an uncompromising manner which has aroused the resentment and alarm of the whole of Latin America.

The methods this country has employed to obtain control over Latin American countries have varied

from actual military occupation to refusal to recognize governments of which it did not approve. It has also often exerted an indirect influence through financial advisers. It is only recently that there has been any close public scrutiny of the exact methods the government was employing, but the facts in regard to them should be known, not only in the interest of justice but because, in so far as they contradict the democratic principles upon which this government is based, they endanger those principles at home as well as abroad. No fair account can be given in a few paragraphs of the stages by which we have drifted into the various situations that have caused us to be looked upon by the rest of the world as an imperial power. Each case needs to be studied in one of the many detailed accounts which have been published.

An investigation of the circumstances which led to the annexation of Hawaii, according to President Cleveland showed "beyond all question the constitutional government of Hawaii had been subverted with the active aid of our representatives to that government, and through the intimidation caused by the presence of an armed naval force of the United States which was landed for that purpose at the instance of our Minister." The group instrumental in bringing about the annexation was headed by a representative of American capitalists who had large sums invested in Hawaiian sugar plantations.

Cuba's liberation was undertaken with the declaration that when it had been accomplished the United

States would leave the government and control of the island to its people. Three years after the Spanish-American War we ended our protectorate and granted the island "political independence"; but at the same time we negotiated a treaty embodying what is known as the Platt Amendment. This gives the United States the right "to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty," prohibits Cuba from incurring any debts beyond its ability to pay, and grants the United States land for coaling and naval stations. On the basis of the Platt Amendment we continue to hold a power over Cuba against which it has continually protested.

As for the Philippines, we accepted them, in the words of President McKinley, as a new duty and responsibility "which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation. . . . Incidental to our tenure in the Philippines is the commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent." We ruthlessly suppressed the struggle of the people of the Philippines for independence, giving promises of a future independence which have never been fulfilled.

There was at least no pretense about the acquisition of the Panama Canal. Congress debated it for some little time, but President Roosevelt, as he himself said, took the Canal zone while Congress debated it. In 1916 we acquired from Nicaragua exclusive right to any Atlantic-Pacific canal route in a treaty

which was declared by the Central American International Court to have infringed upon the rights of other Central American states. We ignored the decision, and the court was abolished. In Mexico we dominated the government, refusing to recognize officials of whom we did not approve, supporting our favorites, landing troops without declaring war, and demanding the election of what our officials described as "good men." One of the grave dangers of such policies of intervention, which if they do not amount to war may involve the country in war, is that they are initiated by the executive and are not under the control of Congress.

Over various Latin American countries we attained financial control through the fact that if they wished to raise loans which involved granting control of some part of their financial assets, we demanded that they raise them here, since otherwise our policy of preventing foreign governments from acquiring a foothold in the western hemisphere would be infringed upon. Financial control may be exercised in any of several ways—through commissions directing the country's economic policy, through financial advisers, or through control of the collection of customs. Such loans and control are arranged, of course, through American banks, but the government's connection is none the less a close one.

So far as the flow of United States money to less developed countries goes, it will inevitably continue, and with it there is bound to go an influence which amounts to control of economic policies. Several

events recently, however, have indicated a modification of actual governmental interference in the affairs of other countries. The first notable change, which amounted almost to a right-about-face, took place in the case of Mexico. The supposed injury done to American oil interests by the laws of that country in 1927 had created such a situation as seemed on the basis of history to lead to but one thing, war. But among the financiers of the country there was a new consciousness of the relation between peace and prosperity and of the injury to our general trade which war would mean; and among the mass of the people there was a newly organized and informed demand for peace. The general public was better able to detect the special economic interests behind threats of war, and able above all to formulate and publish its opinions promptly. As a result of these two forces, army officers who had been hourly expecting their marching orders to Mexico stayed at home, and in their place was sent an ambassador, Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, to build up the peaceful relationships which would be for the general advantage.

Increasing public knowledge of conditions in Nicaragua and Haiti has created a reaction against methods employed by our government in those countries, which early in the Hoover administration led to their virtual abandonment. The long-promised election of officials has been held or arranged for in both countries, and the marines are being gradually withdrawn, though a small force will supervise the Nicaragua election in 1930.

Perhaps more important ultimately than any of these things is the recent publication by the State Department of a memorandum, originally prepared in 1928 by Mr. J. Reuben Clark as Under Secretary of State, clarifying and definitely limiting the Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine—What It Is and Is Not

Uncertainty as to the extent and meaning of the Monroe Doctrine—we hesitated, it is said, to join the International Red Cross because of it—has made reservations in regard to it a source of danger and of serious limitation to arbitration treaties. It is defined in the memorandum referred to as having to do solely with relationships between European states and the American continents, and as not applying to purely inter-American relations. It is declared to be based on the right of self-protection, but not to cover "all policies demanded by self-protection"; the Roosevelt corollary, for instance, is held not to be legitimately considered a part of it. The State Department memorandum says in part:

The Doctrine states a case of United States vs. Europe, not of United States vs. Latin America.

Such arrangements as the United States has made, for example, with Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua, are not within the Doctrine as it was announced by Monroe. They may be accounted for as the expression of a national policy which, like the Doctrine itself, originates in the necessities of security

or self-preservation . . . but such arrangements are not covered by the terms of the Doctrine itself.

The Doctrine has been useful, and such indeed was the real motive of its announcement and it will remain of such use that it should never be abandoned, as a forewarning to European powers as to what this country would regard, in a restricted field, as inimical to its safety. It has been equally useful to the Americas as forecasting our attitude towards certain international problems and relations in which they might be involved. . . .

. . . the Monroe Doctrine is not an equivalent for "self-preservation"; and therefore the Monroe Doctrine need not, indeed should not, be invoked in order to cover situations challenging our self-preservation but not within the terms defined by Monroe's declaration. These other situations may be handled, and more wisely so, as matters affecting the national security and self-preservation of the United States as a great power. . . .

The so-called "Roosevelt corollary" was to the effect, as generally understood, that in case of financial or other difficulties in weak Latin American countries, the United States should attempt an adjustment thereof lest European governments should intervene, and intervening should occupy territory—an act which would be contrary to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. . . .

It is not believed that this corollary is justified by the terms of the Monroe Doctrine, however much it may be justified by the application of the doctrine of self-preservation.

It has been urged in Congress that as a means of

promoting international goodwill this memorandum be sent as an official document to all Latin American countries. If its restrictions are definitely accepted by this government, the effect will be to reduce notably the number of policies and questions which, on the ground that they came under the Monroe Doctrine and that that was a unilateral doctrine, we have insisted that we must decide for ourselves. The way would thus be opened for such inter-American action as has long been urged by the Latin American republics on questions of common concern.

Latin American Policies

The opportunity presented at the Havana Pan American Conference for more or less open expression of the growing antagonism in Latin America to the United States, and the threatened decrease in our trade because of it, have also helped to modify the manners and methods of this government and to make its purpose clearer in its own mind as well as in that of other countries. Latin Americans themselves admit that it is as natural for a surplus of dollars to flow to a region where capital is needed as for air to flow into a vacuum, and that in this industrial age, with its tremendous demands for raw material and for markets, the so-called backward countries must be developed. It is also readily enough admitted that stable government should be maintained, and that such waterways as the Panama Canal must be protected for international traffic. The solution most

frequently suggested is that the ends which the United States seeks to achieve by independent action should be attempted rather through the cooperative action of all the American republics.

International Rivalries

It is not only in regard to Latin America that a definite effort needs to be made to see that our increasing economic domination does not lead to undue resentment and ill will. The sudden rise to supreme financial power by the United States following the war, when other nations were deeply impoverished, our complete withdrawal from European responsibilities and problems, our insistence upon the payment of at least a large part of the war debts owed to us, our invasion of markets in which we had not before been a serious competitor, our power to supply the world's need of capital, and our vigorous efforts to control raw materials, have led to a certain fear, and to rivalry especially with Great Britain, whose former position as financial dictator of the world we now share. On the Continent an effort is being made, particularly in France, to prevent the American investors from obtaining control of French enterprises, although in all countries our money is desired for industrial development.

There is, however, no inherent reason why the investment of capital should lead to friction. The development of the United States in earlier years was dependent in much the same way upon capital from

abroad. As far as investments in less developed countries are concerned, where a government was irresponsible it was natural that investors should look to their own for protection. Such a policy, however, opened wide opportunities for the abuse of weaker countries. As the stability of governments increases and information concerning economic conditions is more easily obtained in advance of investment, the theory of government protection for foreign investments is widely challenged. President Hoover, while Secretary of Commerce, said definitely, "The time for making war to protect foreign investments has passed." Later, as President, he quoted Elihu Root's announcement in 1907 that we would not use "war or warlike means to enforce or collect upon private business contracts," and declared it "our settled policy."

In certain instances, however, it is difficult to prevent political control from following economic control. When a loan was made to Salvador, for instance, the loan was guaranteed by seventy per cent of its customs revenues, and it was agreed that any dispute concerning it should be referred to the Chief Justice of the United States. The investment bankers concerned in the loan gave out this statement: "It is simply not thinkable that, after a federal judge has decided any question or dispute between the bondholders and the Salvador Government, the United States Government should not take the necessary steps to sustain such decision."

The government emphatically denied any such

implication, and in 1922, in a circular requesting bankers to inform the Department of State of contemplated loan transactions in order that it might have an opportunity "to express an objection," definitely stated that the government would not pass upon the merits of foreign loans as business propositions, nor take any responsibility whatever in connection with loan transactions. Having demanded an opportunity to object, it has been held that by failing to do so the State Department does nevertheless take a certain responsibility; and this degree of supervision has been severely criticized as an illegal assumption of power and as an attempt to carry out political purposes through control of economic transactions.

Control of Raw Materials

But it is in the attempt of governments to gain control of important raw materials that there lies a greater danger to peace. The present rivalry over oil, and the efforts to control lines of communication for commercial and political reasons, involve exactly the kind of economic conflict which has heretofore led to war. Those who feel that war in the future is therefore inevitable fail, however, to allow sufficiently for the fact that it is the existing threat of war which makes the rivalry particularly intense, and fail to take sufficiently into account new factors which are creating a pressure for peace. The old reasons for making war may still exist, but there are

new reasons for not making it and for keeping the peace, among them the fact that conflict today is unprofitable. Granted that economic conflicts between business interests of different countries are not complicated by government interference for political or military purposes, there is no more reason, as Sir Arthur Salter, head of the Economic Section of the League of Nations has frequently pointed out, why they should lead to war than that similar conflicts between business interests in the same country should lead to war.

It is interesting to observe that business is reversing rôles, and now accuses political leaders of fomenting wars. Dr. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, stated in a radio address that business demands "relief from the pre-war dangers of the exploitation of trade rivalries by unscrupulous politicians . . . a higher plane of foreign-trade ethics, and the abandonment of the old ruthless policies." It is, however, of the utmost importance that the conflict of economic interests be recognized, and a part of the energy which under earlier conditions would have been put into solving them by war be put into finding a peaceful solution. Perhaps something even of the same sacrifice might be made in the one case as would be required in the other.

The adjustment of economic conflicts without war is held by economists to depend upon their recognition as international rather than national problems, and upon the development of a standard or code of fair practices which will serve to guide the nations

concerned as to what their rights are and are not, and at the same time will make possible an enlightened public opinion which will be a protection to the weak states and a restraint upon the strong. So far as access to markets and raw materials is concerned, the rule laid down by the League of Nations for the powers holding mandates over weaker countries may serve as a guide; it is that they are to "secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League."

The United States Chamber of Commerce through a Special Committee on Trade Relations is at present working in the national field on the problem of eliminating from trade and industry unfair and wasteful trade practices, and is gradually building up the necessary administrative machinery to carry out this policy. Such a plan might offer suggestions in the international field. The International Chamber of Commerce has itself created a Court of Commercial Arbitration to which three hundred and forty-nine cases have been submitted during the seven years of its existence, sixty-four of them during the first nine months of 1929. This development of a method for settling disputes within groups rather than through national governments, a method which has also been worked out by certain world service organizations such as the Universal Postal Union, is of far-reaching significance.

Population and Immigration Problems

Another primarily economic question which menaces peace is unequal pressure of population. It is usually asserted that war holds a solution for at least this problem, yet under war conditions production and the means of production are likely to decrease as rapidly as population, while it is, of course, the threat of war which induces governments to urge and even to offer rewards for large families. Groups denied the necessities of life will undoubtedly leave no means untried for obtaining them, but with war out of the picture and uninterrupted exchange of goods assured, with the development of new methods in food production, and with birth control spreading rapidly in every country and among all classes, the problem may grow less rather than more intense. The problem is in any case one that "may cause wars but is essentially soluble without them." Sir Arthur Salter makes this statement in his published lectures on "Economic Conflicts as the Causes of War," and goes on to say:

Neither war nor the transfer of territory from one country to another is necessary. When Germany, for example, had a large colonial empire, it was not mainly to her empire that her emigrants went; the majority went to a country which offered them a life of equal rights and equal opportunities under another flag. Since the war new restrictions, often for obvious and sufficient reasons, have been imposed by many countries. But surely, if we mean peace, we shall be

able, either by separate action or international agreement, to find sufficient outlets somewhere in the world among the still immense and half-developed areas, for a few "blocks" of surplus population before the pressure bursts into war.

The necessity for ever increasing markets created by mass production must tend toward willingness to permit the distribution of dense populations so that thinly populated regions may be developed and the standard of living raised in the original area. A uniform standard of living throughout the world will also reduce opposition on the part of the more developed countries to immigration from the less developed, and so permit an easier redistribution of peoples. The work of the International Labor Organization is tending toward this end, as, whatever other effects it may have, is the establishment of American owned or controlled factories abroad under the policy, announced by Mr. Ford, of paying the equivalent of American wages to the workers.

This problem, like every other, must be solved on a basis of the facts. In the first place, the needs of nations must be made known. They should be studied and discussed by international groups from the point of view of the general welfare of the world. In 1927 the first World Population Conference was held, and an International Union of Population which includes well-known scientists from the United States was organized.

Race prejudice must be eliminated as far as possible. The feeling of racial superiority is not

unique with the white race—every race feels itself superior to all others—but it is a more or less unconscious argument on the part of the white race for maintaining its present position of political domination in the world. The surest remedy is again wider knowledge of facts, for all investigations go to prove that there is no such thing as inherent race prejudice; prejudice is not inborn, it is acquired. Moreover, research tends to prove that all races of any importance today are mixed races; that so-called racial differences are explained chiefly by differences in historic environment, and have a distinct value for progress and for the enrichment of life. Variations in the mental capacity of racial groups can, it has been found, be largely overcome by education. Modern civilization is a composite of the contributions of all races. The life of mankind is a common adventure in which all have played and play their parts. Social institutions established on the basis of race prejudice perpetuate that prejudice from generation to generation. Their existence must be counteracted by direct teaching and by explanation of this age as one of transition due to increased knowledge of world facts.

Because of constant international travel and contacts, race prejudice promises to be overcome more rapidly than could have been anticipated a few years ago. Frequent contacts and more rapid communication do not necessarily mean greater sympathy or friendliness between peoples. But the fact that various families, snowed in in northern Russia, sitting on the straw mats of their living rooms in Japan,

grouped about the center tables of their libraries in France, on the balconies of their homes in South America, in their homes and offices in the United States, listen to the same radio, follow together the same news, learn together of any important happening in any part of the world whatever, does mean that they will have a greater degree of common knowledge and be influenced by this experience, and that the old idea of the foreigner as someone wholly different and distinct must disappear. What is most needed is recognition of the value of difference and of the right to differ; a sense of "common memories, associations and aims"; mutual respect and tolerance for the sake of a common gain, and as the accepted price of the common benefit of world peace.

Somewhat more localized but undoubtedly deeper international resentment has been created by the recent immigration legislation in the United States than by its tariff policies. Before the World War, except as concerned Oriental nations, the need for labor overcame all efforts to restrict immigration to this country. Chinese immigrants were excluded by law as early as 1882. Japanese immigration was restricted in 1907 by means of "the Gentlemen's Agreement," admittedly very scrupulously carried out by Japan, by which that country agreed to refuse passports to laborers. In the fear that there would be greatly increased immigration from the Far East following the war, the Asiatic barred zone was created by Congress in 1917.

In 1921 and in 1924 laws were passed designed to

select immigration from countries whose peoples were supposed to be more easily adapted to American standards of living. The 1921 law, which created much unnecessary resentment because of the manner in which it was administered, provided that three per cent only of the number of foreign born of any nationality in the United States according to the census of 1910, could be admitted. In 1924 the provision was changed to two per cent according to the 1890 census, and all aliens not eligible to citizenship were entirely excluded. This latter provision directly affected the Japanese, and abruptly discarded the Gentlemen's Agreement without so much as a conference with the officials of Japan. There was strong opposition to this Exclusion Act in the United States, and in Japan it led to widespread protests. The American Ambassador to Japan said when the act was passed, "The Japanese Exclusion Act was, in my judgment, an international disaster of the first magnitude—a disaster to American diplomacy in the Far East, a disaster to American business, a disaster to religion and to the effective work of our American churches in Japan."

The dignity and patience with which the act has been acquiesced in but not accepted as a final arrangement by the Japanese people has gone far to win American sympathy and respect. Other factors are also tending toward better relations between the United States and Japan. Recognition of the dependence of Japan upon her trade with this country has reduced American fear of what once was the

bugaboo of a Japanese attack on our western coast. Better mutual understanding has been created through the international conferences in which both countries have participated, including the sessions of the Institute of Pacific Relations. There is also a growing consciousness of Japan's influence in the Far East, and of the extent to which the relations of that section of the world with Europe and America depend upon the attitude of the government of Japan.

There seems every reason why, under the strict limitation of all immigration now in force, Orientals should be treated on the same basis as other nationals and brought under the quota provisions. Under this arrangement, from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty Japanese and between sixty and a hundred Chinese would be admitted annually, and the chairman of the Immigration Committee of the House has proposed an amendment of the law to this effect.

In the immigration laws of 1924 no restrictions were placed upon the citizens of Canada or of Latin America. A bill introduced in Congress in 1930 would bring Mexico under the quota but would continue to exempt the other countries of Latin America and Canada. There has been strong opposition to Congressional enactment on this matter, not only in Mexico but in the United States, on the ground that it could be as effectively and more harmoniously handled in the State Department by means of an agreement with the Mexican government, which desires and is already taking steps to hold its workers

at home. The action of Congress in continuing to permit unrestricted immigration from South America won high approval in the press of that continent.

Whatever modification of our immigration laws may finally be possible, it is of the utmost importance that the ill will which they inevitably create should be minimized by applying them without racial discrimination and by methods which will arouse as little national antagonism as possible.

Peace and the Status Quo

The fear is often expressed that injustices resulting from the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and other international agreements can be remedied only by force. Under the League Covenant there is a provision, embodied in Article XIX, which is attracting increasing attention. It is provided that the Assembly "may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." The question is not whether conditions of injustice should be remedied, but whether their one chance of being remedied does not lie in education and peaceful negotiation.

2. The Menace of Armaments

ECONOMIC conflicts menace peace by creating situations to which the reaction has always been war and which therefore release the impulse to war. But there is in armaments a more direct menace, for they strengthen the impulse itself and at the same time undermine the forces of resistance. No disinterested responsible person any longer asserts that armaments preserve peace. On the contrary, statesmen are endeavoring to disabuse the public mind of this delusion. There may have been a time when a nation could hope to achieve effective superiority in arms over any possible enemies, but no one nation can achieve superiority over the rest of the world. The attempt to be adequately prepared, like the attempt to be economically self-sufficient, is hopeless today and increases the dangers against which it seeks protection. As Heywood Broun explains it, a big navy is needed to defend the Philippines, and the Philippines are needed as a coaling station for a big navy.

In a speech before the United States Naval Academy President Coolidge said in 1925:

"I am not unfamiliar with the claim that if only we had a sufficient military establishment no one would ever molest us. I know of no nation in history that has ever been able to attain that position. I see no reason to expect that we could be the exception." And again in a message to Congress in 1927 he de-

clared that competitive armaments "constitute one of the most dangerous contributing causes of international suspicion and discord and are calculated eventually to lead to war." Practically every other President, beginning with George Washington, could be quoted against a large military establishment for this country. One of Washington's many statements on this subject was, "Overgrown military establishments are under any form of government inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty." In signing the Rush-Bagot Treaty providing for the disarmament of the Canadian-United States boundary, President Monroe said, "Preparation for war is a constant stimulus to suspicion and ill will."

Realization of this danger in armaments, and their tremendous and increasing cost, have led since the beginning of the century to a succession of efforts to bring about their limitation and reduction. The First Hague Conference in 1899 was called for this purpose, but it was found impossible even to discuss the subject at any length, and from the program of the Second Hague Conference in 1907 it was entirely omitted, a fact which emphasizes present progress along these lines.

Having in mind the competition in armaments between Germany and England which had preceded the World War, the delegates to the peace conference at the conclusion of the war stipulated that Germany should be disarmed "in order to render possible the initiation of general limitation of armaments in all

nations," while the following statement was introduced into the Covenant of the League of Nations:

> The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The members of the League are further called upon to exchange full and frank information as to their armed forces and military appropriations, and the Council of the League is authorized to draw up plans for the reduction of armaments and to consider how the evil effects of the private manufacture of armaments can be prevented.

Committees formed to consider reduction of armaments have been at work since 1920, while since 1925 a preparatory commission has been attempting to work out a draft for a disarmament agreement to be submitted to a general disarmament conference which it is hoped will meet not later than 1932. Before the technicalities of this subject can be decided there must be a reconciliation between the point of view that security based on guarantees of armed assistance from other nations must precede national disarmament, and the view that security must rest on the power of public opinion in an enlightened electorate. It is generally accepted that the first point of view is that of the French government, and the second has been represented by officials of the United States.

The position of the United States as stated by Secretary Kellogg in 1928 is that it "cannot obligate itself in advance to use its armed power against any other nation," nor has it been willing to agree to sever economic relations. The chief objection to such a pledge grows out of the difficulty of determining in any given case which was the aggressor nation, since the aggression may date back of the actual attack or invasion to policies calculated to provoke the use of force. The definition generally agreed upon is that refusal to submit a case to arbitration constitutes aggression. Whatever the right or wrong of its position, the United States, by insisting upon deciding for itself whether it will maintain trade relations with nations engaged in hostilities, and by refusing to accept the verdict of the rest of the world as to when a nation is an aggressor—or even as yet to agree to confer on the subject—prevents definite commitments to impose even economic penalties as international guarantees of security.

Naval Disarmament

While the League has attempted to work out a plan for general reduction of land and naval armaments, conferences among the larger naval powers have been able to reach important agreements on the limitation of naval strength.

The Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, called by the United States in 1921 in an effort to check post-war competitive building pro-

grams, resulted in the first multilateral agreement for limitation of armaments. Two factors in its success need to be kept in mind for the future. The first is that the conference was called in response to an active organized public demand, which continued to make itself heard throughout the period of the conference. The second is the boldness of the policy announced at the first session by Secretary of State Hughes. Neither of these factors has been present to a like degree in subsequent conferences. The Washington Conference resulted in a fifteen-year treaty establishing a 5–5–3 ratio in battleships for the United States, the British Empire and Japan, with the lower figure of 1.67 for France and Italy. It limited the quota of battleships to a figure which required the actual destruction of some ships. On this basis certain Far-Eastern problems were adjusted, and relations between Japan and the United States noticeably improved. The Washington Treaty was followed, however, by competition in cruiser construction.

In 1927 President Coolidge called a second conference for the limitation of the classes of ships not affected by the Washington Treaty. This conference was a complete failure inasmuch as Great Britain and the United States were unable to reach any agreement on cruisers. The question of the freedom of the seas was held to be an underlying cause of the failure, while a more obvious one was the domination of the conference by naval officials.

Influence of Munition Manufacturers

Behind the influence of naval officials was the influence of shipbuilders and manufacturers of munitions, as was later revealed before a Senate investigating committee by William B. Shearer, their representative at Geneva.

The extent of the influence of armament firms on the policies of governments had been brought out before this time in public documents and Congressional debates. International influence has been revealed in the deliberate cultivation of war scares, in bribery of the press to egg one nation on by accounts of what another is supposed to be doing, and by sales of the materials of war to foreign countries, irrespective of the circumstances existing in the countries concerned. The result of this latter practice was that German soldiers were killed by hand grenades for which the British had obtained the patent rights from Germany, that German firms sued England for payment of royalties on the grenades, and that European troops fighting in the Near East were attacked with weapons bought from their own countrymen. Although armament firms of Germany and France are reported to have combined, the French branch is encouraging the building of forts along the German-French frontier.

The dangers of this situation are testified to in these recommendations of the League of Nations Disarmament Commission:

Persons who own shares in private munitions factories may not do so in similar enterprises in other countries.

Persons who own shares in private munitions factories, or members of their directorates, may not acquire ownership of newspapers, control them, or exert influence upon them.

London Naval Conference

With the signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact the situation was believed to be so altered as to justify a third naval conference, which was called by England in agreement with the United States, and which met at London in 1930. After fourteen weeks of constant deliberation a treaty was agreed upon by the British Empire, Japan and the United States, which, although it did not fulfil the hopes of the American and British people for large reductions in naval expenditures, did accomplish notable results. Under the London Treaty all classes of ships not covered by the Washington Conference were limited in such a way as to give the United States parity with Great Britain, and Japan a somewhat greater relative strength than that indicated by the 5–5–3 ratio of the Washington Treaty. The general limitation of navies by international agreement marks a great advance and logically implies reduction. The treaty was ratified with a vote of fifty-eight to nine by the United States Senate on July 21, 1930, and England's ratification followed soon thereafter.

Under the treaty there is to be an actual reduction

of the present battleship, submarine and destroyer fleets of the three powers, including the actual scrapping of battleships: five by Great Britain, three by the United States, and one by Japan. France and Italy, the other two powers attending the conference, joined in an agreement extending for six years the battleship holiday which under the Washington Treaty was to have ended in 1936. It is anticipated that this means the doom of battleships as a class, for so many will become obsolete during the period that it is not to be expected that any nation will desire to incur the expense of replacing them. All five nations likewise agreed on restriction of submarine warfare.

The most critical problem before the conference had to do with the cruiser fleets of Great Britain and of the United States. The British government reduced its demand from seventy to fifty cruisers, of which fifteen are to carry eight-inch guns. Japan agreed not to increase its cruiser fleet. The United States under the treaty is granted eighteen cruisers, as compared with the British fifteen, carrying eight-inch guns, and is permitted to build six-inch gun cruisers to within fifteen thousand tons of the British total. Naval officials of the United States wanted twenty-one cruisers with eight-inch guns, and it is on this point that they opposed the ratification of the treaty when it was before the Senate.

As a matter of fact, in all three countries ratification of the treaty was opposed by certain naval and military officials, men "handicapped," according to

Secretary Stimson, "by a kind of training which tends to make them think of war as the only possible defense against war. . . . Under the circumstances they are naturally against all naval limitation, for it is difficult for them to see that naval limitation itself, by checking mutual suspicion and promoting goodwill, is one of the most effective preventives of war." In the United States the *Army and Navy Journal*, in its opposition to the treaty and in contradiction of the principle accepted in the Kellogg Pact, went to the extreme of saying that our traditional policy of defense so far as the Pacific coast was concerned was a "strong offensive" of which the London Treaty supposedly deprives us.

Ratification of the treaty was supported by the organized peace forces of the United States with the reservation that they would oppose building up to the figures allowed under the treaty, since to do so would weaken the Kellogg Pact and create a spirit of distrust in the world.

As for the expense of building to the limits allowed this country, Representative Burton L. French, chairman of the House Sub-Committee on Naval Appropriations, stated in a speech before Congress on May 9, 1930, that it would cost from $750,000,000 to $1,000,000,000 between now and 1936, and that the annual naval construction program on this basis would require from $125,000,000 to $150,000,000. He concluded by saying:

From the standpoint of national finances, I submit, there can be no justification for any such expenditure

of money, an expenditure that would treble the appropriations that we have made for new construction work on an average for each of the last ten years. . . .

It would be a perversion of the magnificent work of President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald, and the able delegates to the London Conference, to transform a limitations agreement into a mandate for expansion programs. . . .

Fighting craft mean auxiliary craft. Fighting craft mean expansion in navy yards. Fighting craft mean personnel, both officer and enlisted personnel. The expansion of the navy of the United States to the limits that would be possible were that to be the interpretation of the London Treaty, would mean the increase of the annual burden of naval appropriations from an average of about $350,000,000 annually, as it has been during the last eight years, to an annual cost of between $500,000,000 and $600,000,000.

Whether the country does or does not build up to the limits permitted it under the London Treaty is a question yet to be determined by the people of the country, who, under the Constitution, are given the responsibility of determining the size of the country's armed forces.

The chief reason that Italy and France did not join the other nations in the limitation provisions of the London Treaty was the existence of certain political differences between them. Italy demanded naval parity with France, as a matter of prestige and because of her desire to obtain control, for the expansion of her population, of territory in Africa now under French rule. France refused to grant this de-

mand. It was understood, however, that conversations between the two countries would continue, which they did with the result that a six months' naval holiday was agreed upon in order to provide further opportunity for discussion.

The subject of airplane disarmament has not been raised at any naval conference, but following the Geneva disarmament conference the Labor Party of Great Britain submitted the following resolution to Parliament:

In view of the growing menace to civil communities in the development of methods of air warfare, this House regrets that His Majesty's Government have failed to make any proposals for securing international agreement on the question of aerial disarmament for the abolition of military and naval air forces and the establishment of international control of civil aviation.

As the destructiveness of the weapons of war increases and war budgets become steadily larger, there is growing recognition of the absolute need for more drastic reduction of all armaments. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, through its national branches, circulated during the summer of 1930 in many countries a petition calling upon governments for total and universal disarmament. It described government assurances of peaceful policy as "valueless" so long as measures of disarmament are delayed. In a recent trans-Atlantic address, one of the greatest of British statesmen,

Lord Robert Cecil, declared disarmament and peace "almost interchangeable terms."

Militarizing Public Opinion

It is conceivable that armaments may exist and nations refrain from using them, but also it is obvious that the readier to hand lies equipment for war the more persistent and emphatic must be the demand for peace. But the citizen point of view is steadily attacked by the propaganda which military officials feel is necessary in order to build up a public opinion which will give them the men and appropriations they need to carry on their job. "Democracies," President Hoover said in his Memorial Day address in 1929, "can only be led to undertake the burdens of increasing naval construction by continued appeal to fear, by constant envisaging of possible conflicts, by stimulated imaginings of national dangers, by glorification of war."

When military officials attempt to influence public opinion by these means, to call such officials militaristic is merely to shift the burden of responsibility from the citizens who employ them. It was the citizens to whom the founders of the republic gave the power to determine the size and character of the country's military machine. The influence of military authorities must none the less be guarded against, particularly at a period like this, of rapid and fundamental change. As Representative Ross Collins of Mississippi said in the House on January 10, 1930,

"Soldiering is a very old profession and has some very rigid traditions and attitudes. Army officers are not always awake to changed conditions, and often stick to old methods until forced to give them up." It is the business of military men to build up as efficient a military machine as possible, but it is for Congress to say how much of the resources and energy of the nation should be allotted to this preparation for war.

Military Training in the Schools

Unable to secure the passage of the universal military service bill which they proposed at the end of the World War, the military authorities obtained the passage of the National Defense Act, under which the various activities they are carrying on in the schools and colleges and among the citizens in general are authorized.

The extent of these activities is just beginning to be realized. They begin, indirectly, with the youngest children. A book has recently been published in which experienced officers describe how to play in the most realistic fashion with toy soldiers. In the junior and senior high schools there are cadet corps under the instruction of army officers, and such officers have also recently obtained permission to act as masters in Boy Scout organizations.

In the colleges and universities there are Reserve Officers Training Corps, with army officers assigned as instructors and with every feature to make the courses attractive, including free uniforms and over-

coats "suitable for any occasion," polo ponies, the prettiest co-eds as honorary officers who are featured at all ceremonies in dashing uniforms with swords of appropriate size, and state contests with much extra-curriculum activity and favorable publicity. In 1929–30 there were 145,902 students taking these courses in 288 colleges and schools. In 159 institutions the military courses were compulsory, although it has been officially decided by the Attorney General of the United States that even in Land Grant colleges such courses need not be compulsory. Seventeen hundred and sixty regular army officers are assigned to the work of military training in the schools, the cost of which in 1930 was $2,677,917, and the estimate for which in 1931 was $4,000,000.

In New York, New Jersey, Virginia and Massachusetts commissions have been appointed, and city surveys have been made in Salt Lake City and Sacramento, to consider the value of military training in the schools, and all alike advised against it. During the last year and a half, the Thomas Jefferson High School, New York City, discontinued military drill; the high schools of Sacramento made drill elective; in Northwestern University, the California Institute of Technology, and Denison University the R.O.T.C. was discontinued; in De Pauw University it was changed from compulsory to elective; and it is to be discontinued in September, 1930, by Emory University. More than forty other universities had previously done away with the compulsory feature of the training, while Columbia has abolished it alto-

gether. Much of the severest criticism of compulsory training is to be found in student papers and student organizations, and in a number of universities special student leagues have been formed to accomplish its abolition.

Educational authorities throughout the country and many army officers are on record as opposed to military training for boys. Physically it is claimed to be less beneficial than other forms of activity, if not positively harmful. Intellectually it is held to decrease the spirit of independence and initiative needed in citizens of a democracy.

The claim is constantly made that these school military courses are citizenship courses, and are not designed to train young people for war. If this is the case, it is difficult to explain, from the point of view of either the army or the schools, why army officers are assigned as instructors. Supposedly the colleges themselves are designed and able to train their students in good citizenship, yet the college faculty has no control whatever over courses given by army officers.

The War Department View of Citizenship

Some conception of the ideals of citizenship which are taught in the military courses in the schools may be gained from the "Training Manual on Citizenship" published by the War Department. The "plan of instruction" recommended is as follows:

The didactic method concerning facts of history, social changes, economic development, and basic

principles of our Goverment will be used, without discussion and without argument, special emphasis being given to the fact that the United States is a republic, not a democracy.

Democracy is later defined as follows:

A government of the masses—Authority derived through mass meeting or any other form of "direct" expression—Results in mobocracy—Attitude toward property is communistic, negating property rights—Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice and impulse, without restraint or regard to consequences—Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy.

It is said to be "human nature for the strong to take advantage of the weak." It is also said that:

With our growth of population, wealth, and standing among the nations, we have learned that lack of adequate preparation in time of peace was the most certain way to encourage attack by other nations.

Our government, it is admitted, has "from its inception opposed the idea of militarism," but military training is held to be "not militaristic."

On the contrary, it is greatly beneficial to the youth of America. It builds men physically, morally, and intellectually, and inculcates obedience, self-control, leadership, and loyalty. . . . Business invariably gives preference to the young man who has had training in military leadership.

War in the future is taken for granted:

All the wars of the future will include science and machinery. . . . America has always endeavored to maintain peaceful relations with other nations. Yet practically every generation has been compelled to take up arms either in defense of the nation or the principles set forth in her Constitution.

"*Puppy Patriotism*"

But if it is to be expected that the idea of citizenship given in a military training course would tend to be somewhat militaristic, it is harder to understand why so inaccurate a conception of war is created as must result from the introduction of polo, rifle matches, shining uniforms, and honorary colonels into military training courses. Representative Ross Collins of Mississippi has expressed the hope that the students "never read any realistic war book to cast a shadow across the fun they are having." And the New York League of Women Voters has published, under the title "Puppy Patriotism," comments on this phase of military training from which these paragraphs deserve to be quoted:

In the military training classes brought since the war into schools and colleges we are including an attractive and decorative feature, girl auxiliaries with girl officers playing at learning how to fight.

To anyone who has seen war, to anyone who has imagination to perceive what it means, this popping in of young girls in natty uniforms, with light-weight

arms, is a travesty, is even a sacrilege. . . . It makes a game of what is, whether wrong or right, whether folly or disaster, the ultimate sacrifice. We wonder that girls of intelligence can be found to lend themselves to so undignified a part, and we wonder that the boys have not realization enough of the gravity of what they are undertaking to resent this turning the whole business into *opéra bouffe*. The case for military training in our schools is weak indeed when only by parlor tricks can young American men be induced to take the course. If we are to make soldiers let us make real ones, but soldiers are made by calling forth the stern devotion of men and women, not by hiding from them the true face of battle, not by treating this insane business of killing and being killed as a dress parade.

If war comes (and that will be only because we fail to use just means of settling our differences), women have a part, grim also, and sorrowful beyond that of men, but they do not prepare for it by playing with gilt buttons and toy swords on the school campus.

Citizens' Military Training Camps

Adult citizens are reached through the citizens' military training camps, the advertising posters for which alone cost $100,000; through the activities of the National Guard; through the division of the country into corps areas in which leading civilians are appointed to cooperate with army officers in arranging for the quick mobilization of all supplies needed in war; the mobilization of industry by the award of contracts to go into effect immediately upon the

declaration of war; membership of reserve officers in chambers of commerce, Rotary Clubs and other organizations; appointment of citizens' defense committees to work out plans for the defense of strategic cities; the appointment as civilian military aides of men influential in groups such as the American Federation of Labor and the organized motion picture producers. Efforts to enlist the active cooperation of organized women's groups and to break down women's so-called psychological resistance to war, have failed up to this time with most types of organizations; their success with a few groups, as in the cases of the Gold Star Mothers and the Daughters of the American Revolution, is notorious.

The number of military headquarters of one kind or another scattered throughout the country and forming centers of influence is 5,829. The number of individuals actually enrolled in the military establishment has been steadily increasing since 1924. In a speech urging a reduction in military expenditures on January 10, 1930, Representative Collins gave the following figures proposed for 1931:

Regular army	205,177
National Guard	192,000
Organized Reserve (deducting members of National Guard)	107,344
R.O.T.C.	147,402
C.M.T.C.	37,976
Rifle Teams	110,000
Total	799,899

In 1927 the Sub-Committee on Appropriations for the Navy in its report to the House inserted this warning as to the growing influence of the various reserve organizations:

That the reserves have a necessary and important place in our scheme of national defense there is no question. That there should be a limit, however, there should be no question. . . . Unless it is watched and closely watched, it will expand to the point where we will have accomplished by indirection what we have always striven to avoid directly, and that is the establishment of a large force in this country possessing military views and tendencies which will outnumber and outweigh in voice our regular establishments.

Recently, under the direction of retired army officers, an R.O.T.C. Association has been organized, one of the avowed purposes of which is "to study the legislative needs of the R.O.T.C., especially the matter of budget estimates and appropriations, and to appear before committees of Congress on such matters." It has already outlined a national propaganda campaign.

A Citizen's Responsibility for Peace

There are many difficulties and technicalities involved in the reduction of armaments which ordinary citizens cannot be expected to understand, but if they sufficiently understand the absolute need of world peace, and the danger and cost of excessive arma-

ments, statesmen will find ways and means of solving all technicalities. The important point to bear in mind is the citizen's responsibility. To quote Secretary Stimson:

From the very foundation of their government the American people have placed the decision of these matters in the hands not of their admirals and generals, but in the hands of their civilian representatives. By our Constitution the size and character of the American fleet, so far as it is determined by appropriation, rests with the President and Congress; so far as it is determined by treaty it rests with the President and the Senate. . . .

Those Americans today who are suggesting that the size and character of the American fleet must be determined solely in accordance with the views of the admirals of the fleet, are not only seeking to reverse the traditions of three centuries but are suggesting the surrender of what has hitherto been regarded as one of the most priceless rights of the American people, and one most necessary for the protection of its liberty.

So long as the machinery of war stands ready in every country to be set in motion at a word of command, it is as reckless as piling timbers near an open flame to permit economic or other problems to develop to a point of acute conflict between nations. "Agencies," as President Hoover urged upon the Daughters of the American Revolution at their convention in 1930, "for regular, methodical disposal and solution of controversies, so as to assure justice and

avoid the arousing of national emotions," need to be created. Public opinion on its part must exert its influence not only at times of crisis to demand peaceful settlements, but constantly, so that not war alone but policies making for war will be avoided.

Patriotism Today

Fundamental to all wise national policies is the general conception of what the nation is. The idea, commonly known as nationalism, that a nation can be isolated, self-sufficient, a wholly sovereign unit, in a position, as Harold Laski has put it, "to will acts of universal reference without being called to account for them," is held by many to be the chief obstacle to the establishment of peace. It is an idea based on complete ignorance of present world facts. A nationalistic spirit, although often identified with patriotism, is actually incompatible with it, for love of country means a desire to serve its best interests, and ignorance or misconception of facts makes intelligent service impossible. To oppose this type of nationalism is not to oppose patriotism. Love of country is no less needed, and should be no less an incentive to sacrifice and service, but its expression should be in harmony with the facts of the world we live in, rather than of the world of yesterday. Today "disloyalty to the whole means disloyalty to every part."

There was a time a few generations ago when the nation was the larger conception toward which the family and local loyalties were reaching out, and they

persisted within it. Today the larger conception toward which the people of all nations are feeling their way is the world community in which each nation has its place, in which the special contribution of every nation is needed, and in which all nations will find fuller life. When the fact of a world community is accepted as the basis of men's thinking, and its opportunities for achievement are opened to their imaginations, no obstacle will prevent the swift establishment of peace.

PART FOUR

FORCES MAKING FOR PEACE

1. The Organized Peace Movement

THE TREND of the times is toward peace. Yet if today the world is allowed to drift it will drift to war.

Throughout history two forces can be traced, one leading to the union of men in larger and larger co-operating groups, the other to conflict between groups, conflict growing in intensity and power of destruction as the groups have grown in size and power.

Ultimately the tendency toward union must result in world organization and world peace. But so far as the immediate future is concerned, there are two possibilities. The forces making for union and cooperation may result in the formation of a world cooperative unit, and international war be crowded out of the picture. Or the forces making for division will prevent world organization at this time and compel a competitive organization by continents or races, with the probability of wars such as have never yet been equalled in power of devastation. Which of these two possibilities actually awaits mankind depends upon the deliberate effort which the men and women of today put into the organized movement for peace.

Beginnings in the United States

Organized effort for peace began in the United States more than a hundred years ago. It was the natural result of the strong sentiments expressed against militarism and all things military by the men who organized the democratic government of the United States. Standing armies were to them a part of the pomp of kings, and could be given no place in the new government if the people wished to preserve their liberties. The Constitution itself attested the peace convictions of the founders by giving to Congress, instead of to the Executive, power to make war; by putting civilians in control of the army and navy; and by restricting the war power of Congress itself, through the limitation of military appropriations to periods of two years. Even before the Constitution had been adopted, Samuel Adams wrote a letter for the Massachusetts Assembly to that state's representatives in Congress urging that the government take any action it could toward the abolition of war. Benjamin Franklin sent a copy of the Constitution to friends in Europe, suggesting that the nations of Europe might also form a federal union in the interest of peace. George Washington wrote the secretary of the first commission sent to Europe that it was his "first wish" to see war abolished, and later, as has already been pointed out, reintroduced arbitration as a method for settling international disputes.

No wonder, then, that the leading citizens organized for peace, and that the first society organized in

New York state in 1815 was promptly followed by others in ten of the thirteen states. Thomas Jefferson himself was an honorary member of the Massachusetts society. The chief emphasis of these early peace societies was on arbitration. The leaders went up and down the land preaching the theory of peace and arbitration. Resolutions were introduced in state legislatures and in Congress and were directly influential in the establishment of The Hague Court of International Arbitration. Generation by generation, some of the best known names of the statesmen and leaders of American thought have been included in the membership lists of the peace societies—Noah Worcester, William Ellery Channing, William Lloyd Garrison, John Greenleaf Whittier, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles Sumner, John Hay, William Howard Taft. The peace movement is thus an old and a patriotic movement, in line with the traditions and policies of this government, a movement which any citizen loyal to the traditions and policies and efforts of the country should aim to promote.

The complete suppression or quiescence of the peace movement during the World War led to doubts as to the sincerity of peace sentiment, but with the conclusion of the war new societies were quickly organized and those which had survived resumed their activities. Peace sentiment was strong enough promptly to defeat measures urged by army officials for the introduction of universal military training in this country.

Disillusionment as to the war's purposes followed the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. The treaty itself incorporated many of the provisions of the secret treaties based on the old system of the balance of power. Illuminating official information as to the war's underlying causes was published. The economic results of the war had been obviously disastrous to both sides. The fact that such large numbers of men and women, soldiers and nurses, had come in direct contact with the war, and that to a greater extent than in previous wars educated men served as common soldiers and wrote of their experiences led to widespread knowledge of what modern war actually is. Furthermore, women had come into political power, and the general belief in their instinctive opposition to war made them felt as a strong potential influence for peace. These things all contributed to a new peace effort.

Senator Borah's suggestion in 1920 that this government call a conference for the limitation of armaments gave sentiment for peace something tangible and concrete around which to organize. When the administration had for some time neglected the suggestion, a small group of women in Washington organized an Easter mass meeting at which Senator Borah spoke and renewed his proposal. Women's groups and the federated church bodies hurried to support the plan. When the conference had finally been called by the United States, the various peace organizations met in Washington to support the government's effort and in every possible way to

insure success. Seventeen national organizations united in the National Council for the Limitation of Armaments, since become the National Council for Prevention of War, which opened headquarters within a block of the conference's headquarters and held meetings throughout its sessions. The success of the Washington Conference and the opportunity it offered to work with the government in promoting peace greatly encouraged the peace movement.

The Peace Movement Abroad

In Europe the devastating material effects of the war, the unemployment and poverty which it had caused, led to what in many places could best be described as a popular uprising for peace. In England the attitude of the organized workers prevented an outbreak of further warfare in the Near East. In both England and France governments committed to peace policies came into power.

Today the peace movement is represented in every country and is confined to no one class. In some countries its main strength lies in the women's organizations and in the churches; in other countries it lies in the labor movement. The movement for peace should be called worldwide rather than international, for it is not as yet internationally coordinated. Such coordination may well be the next step, since to establish peace will require the simultaneous and cooperative action of many governments. It may be because the movement is not international in character that

little is known in one country of what is being done in other countries, and every now and then someone grows alarmed over the idea that the people of this country are pressing forward toward peace more rapidly than are the people of other countries. Actually, the peace movement is more vigorous, more fundamental, and more radical in certain aspects in other countries than it is here.

In England the surest proof of the power of peace sentiment lies in the fact that the British Labor Party, which during its first term in power in 1924 consistently devoted its best efforts to the establishment of peace and in 1929 campaigned on peace policies, was restored to office. It was in England that the famous Ponsonby letter was signed by over 128,000 men and women, declaring that, in the conviction that all disputes are capable of settlement by arbitration, they would refuse "to support or render war service to any government which resorts to arms." While the Kellogg Pact was pending, twenty-eight women's organizations in Great Britain united in the Women's Peace Crusade demanding ratification. In the Parliamentary campaign following the acceptance of the Pact, these same organizations formed seventy-five crusade committees throughout the country, held more than a thousand meetings, and arranged deputations from their constituents to all Parliamentary candidates to inquire whether they would observe the principle of the Pact, vote for acceptance of the Optional Clause of the World Court, and actively work in Parliament for the peace-

ful settlement of international disputes and for the reduction of armaments. A declaration on "The Schools of Great Britain and the Peace of the World" has been adopted as a guide to teachers, and a very elaborate program is carried out in the schools, designed to encourage a spirit of world cooperation and understanding, and a convinced support of the League of Nations. The British League of Nations Union has a larger individual membership than any other organization in the world devoted exclusively to peace work, including more than 700,000 names. The British National Council for Prevention of War includes over forty organizations, of which one is the British Cooperative Union with a membership of several million.

In France forty-one organizations are engaged in peace work, including women's, church, commercial, college and political groups. One of the most striking among them is the organization of young people known as the Volunteers of Peace, which each year brings about a friendly gathering of hundreds of the young people of France and Germany. In 1929 this meeting took the picturesque form of an international youth crusade for peace. At cities along all the frontiers of France columns were formed which marched slowly upon Paris, holding peace meetings and gaining recruits on their way. In Paris the adventure was concluded with a great mass meeting. The teachers in the French public schools are steadily promoting better international understanding. They have demanded and obtained the revision of text-

books which foster a war spirit; they arrange yearly for the exchange of students with other countries; they take an active part in international educational organizations. Following the adoption of the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact the Minister of Education ordered copies distributed in all intermediate schools, with instructions to teachers to explain its significance.

In Germany the number of peace organizations is also large. There are forty-six organized groups, many of which are united in a central organization. The German Constitution itself calls for the education of children "in the spirit of German national culture and international conciliation." The teachers of the country, through the General Association of German Teachers with its membership of 150,000, take part in the work of the International Federation of Associations of Teachers, and collaborate with the teachers of France, England and several of the smaller countries of Europe in "the promotion of peace." A special organization has been formed which arranges for exchange visits each year during the vacation months between several hundred German boys and girls and the boys and girls of France, England, and other European countries. A letter similar to the Ponsonby letter in England circulated in the western part of Germany received in three months 137,000 signatures. The establishment of an Academy of Peace has been announced by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to be dedicated to the memory of the late Gustav Stresemann, who as Foreign Minister was so largely responsible for the reconcilia-

tion of France and Germany. This academy is to be devoted to a study of means of maintaining peace much as war colleges have been devoted to a study of ways of waging war.

In Japan there are over fifty international organizations, some of purely Japanese origin, others branches of international associations originating in other countries. Eighteen of these are directly concerned with the promotion of peace, and all indirectly contribute to international understanding. The Japanese League of Nations Association adopted resolutions in 1929 approving the Kellogg Pact, endorsing the aims of the London Naval Conference, recommending a five-year naval holiday, reduction in capital ships, a shorter period of military service, separation of military and educational activities, limitation of the air budget, and abolition of chemical warfare. The Department of Education has introduced into all textbooks a chapter on international cooperation and the League of Nations, and has undertaken not only to eliminate unfriendly references to other countries but to include an account of their great men.

Throughout the rest of the world, not including the United States, there are, according to latest estimates, two hundred and thirty-two organizations concerned with international peace. Even in Italy and Russia peace work goes on. According to the Peace Yearbook published in 1929 by the British National Council for Prevention of War, there are listed in Italy five organizations interested in the promotion

of peace, and the effort of the present government to militarize the youth of Italy reflects immediate policies rather than the traditional attitude of the Italian people.

As for Russia, the people of the country have long been known for their peaceful disposition, and it is said that uprisings in Russia have always resulted from the rebellion of the common people against the prolongation of a war. While it is true that at present the Russian government is carrying out an extensive program of military training, it was this same Russian government which was the only one to propose the adoption of a policy of complete disarmament at one of the recent meetings of the League of Nations Disarmament Commission. The question is frequently raised as to how much responsibility for the militarism of Russia rests upon those nations which have refused to recognize its government, and so have created in Russia a feeling of antagonism, distrust and fear toward the rest of the world. Recognition by this country has long been advocated by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and is urged today by many business interests as well as by liberal sentiment in this country.

International Associations

A more definitely international character is given the peace movement by organizations which have branches in many countries.

The World Federation of Education Associations,

formed in 1923, brings together teachers and educators from Europe, America and Oriental countries. Over six thousand delegates attended its biennial meeting held in Geneva in 1929, where the major emphasis was on promotion of world peace.

The World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, which has branches in twenty-nine countries, is (at the writing of this book) arranging a World Conference for International Peace Through Religion, probably to be held in Geneva in 1931. At this conference for the first time in history representatives of all the great religions of the world will meet to discuss ways and means of making their influence effective for world peace.

Representatives of women's organizations from all countries meet at the conferences of the International Alliance for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of the International Association of University Women, of the International Council of Women, of the World Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of the International Council of Nurses, and other professional associations. Through the Inter-American Commission of Women the women of North and South America have united in a joint effort to obtain through an international treaty equality with the men of their countries. The Committee on the Cause and Cure of War is rapidly developing far-reaching international affiliations. Women from twelve countries met at the first Pan Pacific Conference of Women held in 1928. A second meeting is called for

1930. All these organizations have the promotion of peace as part of their program, or indirectly are potent forces in creating better international understanding.

Young people's organizations, both the religious and the academic, also supply important international links. The World's Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, the International Society of Christian Endeavor, the Epworth League, the International Student Federation, and for the younger boys and girls the Knighthood of Youth and the Scout, Campfire, and similar organizations, all hold international conferences and carry out the international brotherhood idea in their national programs. The largest of the young people's gatherings was the Boy Scout Jamboree in 1929, when fifty thousand Scouts representing forty-two nations met in England.

Four hundred and forty young people, delegates from thirty-two countries, held their own World Youth Peace Congress in 1928 in Holland, "to stimulate and promote a study of the basic causes of war and their elimination, and to focus the enthusiasm and power of the youth of the world upon the development of agencies for dealing with the problem of war." A permanent committee was elected to act as a clearing house and to organize a second world conference. The American Committee of the World Youth Peace Congress was the group through which American delegates to the congress were organized.

The Peace Caravans touring the highways and

byways of the country every summer and stopping for lectures and discussions as opportunity offers, are one of the interesting projects carried out by young people. They were originated by the American Friends Service Committee and are also sent out by the Church of the Brethren with headquarters in Elgin, Illinois.

The International Chamber of Commerce, Rotary International, International Kiwanis, and organizations of special groups are bringing the business and commercial interests into touch across national boundaries. Resolutions adopted by the International Chamber of Commerce at its last meeting in 1929 included this statement:

The International Chamber of Commerce is convinced that the world of business must devote itself zealously to promoting the conception of peace summed up in the words Security, Arbitration and Disarmament, and must exert its influence to prevent causes of economic friction which may result in war. Nations failing to adopt these methods should have no support or encouragement from the commercial world. Business men specifically condemn any desire for profits arising from war trade.

The Rotary International, which has over three thousand branches in sixty-two nations, has as one of its objects "to encourage and foster the advancement of understanding, goodwill and international peace," and sent to the London Naval Conference a message expressing "tremendous interest in the reduction of overburdened armaments."

In the professional world scholars are recognizing the need to "draw more fully upon the common treasure of knowledge, methods and discoveries," and in all branches of learning are forming international bodies such as the International Research Council, which is devoted to scientific studies, the International Union of Academies interested in the social sciences, and the International Committee on Historical Sciences. Cooperation among all groups of intellectual workers and institutions of learning is consistently promoted by the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. The International Bureau of Education by means of conferences and publications keeps teachers in touch with educational progress in all countries.

This rapid summary showing the extent of the forces working for peace throughout the world makes it clear that there is little chance that peace sentiment in the United States will dangerously outdistance peace sentiment abroad.

Absolute Pacifists Here and Abroad

In the United States the peace movement is both less radical and less politically minded than in some other countries, such as England, where political parties base their campaigns on peace issues. Of all the peace organizations in this country there are, aside from religious groups, only the Women's Peace Union, the Women's Peace Society, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League and the

Pacifist Action Committee which includes representative bodies of the Quakers, Dunkards and Mennonites, that take the absolutist position against war, and only the two women's organizations require a pledge from their members that they will not participate in war. The Women's Peace Union has introduced in Congress a constitutional amendment, known as the Frazier amendment, making it illegal to prepare for, declare or carry on war, or to raise, appropriate or expend funds for war purposes.

It should be stated that although absolute pacifism as a practical method of bringing about the abolition of war has met with little support in this country, respect for the right of the individual to refuse on conscientious grounds to bear arms has steadily grown. One indication of this was to be found in the vigorous expressions of disapproval in the press in regard to the decision of the Supreme Court refusing citizenship to Madame Rosika Schwimmer because of her refusal to bear arms. The dissenting opinion of Justice Holmes in which Justice Brandeis concurred (Justice Sanford dissented on other grounds) was widely acclaimed. His opinion included this statement:

. . . If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us, but freedom for the thought that we hate. I think that we should adhere to that principle with regard to admission into, as well as to life within, this country. . . .

And recurring to the opinion that bars this applicant's way, I would suggest that the Quakers have done their share to make the country what it is, that many citizens agree with the applicant's belief, and that I had not supposed hitherto that we regretted our inability to expel them because they believe more than some of us do in the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount.

The National Study Conference of the Churches, arranged in 1930 by a Committee on the Churches and World Peace which represented thirty-seven church bodies, called upon the government to respect "the principle of free conscience with regard to war," and affirmed "the duty of the church to support with moral approval individuals who hold conscientious convictions against participation in military training or military service." The Northern Baptist Convention and the Universalist church have adopted similar pronouncements. The Eastern Synod of the Reformed church in the United States has claimed for its members "the right and liberty to speak at any time contrary to those who may temporarily be in control of the government."

Following the Supreme Court's decision in the case of Madame Schwimmer, the Griffin Bill was introduced in Congress, to amend the naturalization law to provide that no person shall be debarred from citizenship by reason of his or her religious views or philosophic opinions with respect to the lawfulness of war as a means of settling international disputes.

The Peace Movement in the United States

There are in the United States over two hundred organizations working in one way or another for peace. The fact that they emphasize different phases of the problem and different methods of solving it does not prevent their exerting a united influence. The establishment of peace requires many changes in world relations; there are many methods by which international disputes may be peacefully settled. A peace movement in complete agreement on policies and methods is therefore impossible, and under the circumstances not desirable. It is a united movement, however, in so far as it creates a general pressure of public opinion directing the policies of governments toward peace.

But even more significant than the existence of a steadily growing number of peace organizations is the fact that organizations formed for a great variety of other purposes are today, in most instances through special committees, actively working for the establishment of peace as fundamental to progress in any line of constructive activity.

Farmers and Peace

The National Grange was apparently the first organization other than the peace societies to adopt a peace program, having stood for the arbitration of international disputes practically from the time of its first organization in 1866. In 1929 the Grange

adopted resolutions for adherence to the World Court; against military training in schools and compulsory military training in colleges; commending the Kellogg Pact and pledging itself to an educational campaign "to build the spirit of goodwill and friendliness, to create respect and confidence and stimulate esteem between peoples, and to help all to see that the strong should not use their strength in arrogance or injustice." During the last year local granges have very generally included peace topics in their programs.

Labor and Peace

The American Federation of Labor at its first convention in 1887 declared that the working class has "the most profound interest in the establishment and maintenance of peace."

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, cites the following resolution adopted in 1912 as the official declaration of his organization:

Whereas, progress and civilization are interrupted and retarded when international peace is disturbed; and

Whereas, true to the highest and best conception of human life, the trade union movement from its first inception has been opposed to war; and

Whereas, organized labor recognizes the identity of interests of the wage workers and the brotherhood of man of all the world, and realizes the duty which devolves upon the organized labor movement of all

civilized countries to carry on educational propaganda having for its purpose the awakening of the hearts and consciences of all mankind to the enormous waste and cruelty of war; therefore be it

Resolved, that the American Federation of Labor emphatically reaffirm its previous declarations for the settlement of all international differences through arbitration, looking toward the final establishment of universal international peace among the peoples of the civilized world.

The American Federation of Labor is not as yet affiliated with the trade union movement in Europe, which is united in the International Federation of Trade Unions. This organization has from its founding put great emphasis on work for peace. The fact that labor in this country is less active in the peace movement than in England and Continental countries, has led recently to a definite effort to stimulate greater activity on the part of local groups in line with the resolutions of the national bodies.

Women and Peace

The first women's groups to include world peace in their programs were the International Council of Women, organized in 1888, which included world peace among its original objectives, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which at about the same time created a special committee to work for peace.

American women during the early years of the

World War organized the Woman's Peace Party, out of which developed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, but they did not undertake a general campaign for peace until they obtained the vote. The Women's International League did meet, however, simultaneously with the Peace Conference in Paris, and other groups in this country began work almost immediately following the conclusion of the war. It was Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's appeal to the national convention of the League of Women Voters which first enlisted the effort of that organization for peace. One by one the other great women's organizations have adopted peace programs, until today the women's organizations not actively working for peace stand out in conspicuous contrast.

Eleven of the largest groups have united to form the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, and have now held their fifth national conference for fundamental study of peace questions. The eleven member organizations are the American Association of University Women, the Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the National League of Women Voters, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union, and the National Women's Trade

Union League. The action taken at the 1930 conference of this body reflects the thoroughgoing interest of women in all phases of the peace problem.

The adherence of the United States to the World Court on the basis of the Root Protocol was endorsed in the belief that such action "will not only give greater effectiveness to the Court, but will also afford evidence of the sincere purpose of our government to uphold its commitments made through the Paris Pact"; adequate appropriations for the State Department were favored; the greatest possible reduction of armaments at the London Conference was urged, and a memorial sent to the conference. Recommendations were accepted calling for work to strengthen peace machinery, and for the demobilization of the war system "as rapidly as it can be replaced by effective peace machinery"; for more effective cooperation with women's groups working for similar objectives in other countries; for study of ways and means by which the Kellogg Pact may be made more effective; for ratification of the Inter-American Arbitration Treaty; for strengthening cooperation with the League of Nations; for study of the economic problems which endanger international relations, with special emphasis on tariff policies and competition for raw materials and markets; for study of problems arising out of the intervention of the United States in weaker countries, and of problems relating to the extent and effect of military training in schools and colleges. Improvement in the methods of education used by the member organizations was urged in order

that efforts directed toward the continuance of the war system might be intelligently and effectively met.

The memorial sent by this organization to the London Naval Conference read:

It is our firm belief that the majority of the population in the United States is in steadfast agreement with the Paris Pact renouncing war, and they are prepared to acclaim and support all acts of the Conference which meet with their expectations.

We therefore entreat the honorable delegates not to stay their deliberations until effective means have been found:

To relieve the citizens of the Great Powers from the enormous and burdensome cost of the building and maintenance of naval armament no longer required,

To reduce naval armament among the Great Powers to a point so low that our own and other nations may feel secure against attack,

To end forever the competition in naval building among the Great Powers,

And thus—

To bring the relations of these Powers into more genuine accord with the principles of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War.

The National League of Women Voters at its annual convention on May 3, 1930, adopted this resolution in support of the London Treaties, based on the fact that the building program provided under it was "permissive only and not mandatory":

Whereas, the National League of Women Voters has consistently supported conferences for the international reduction and limitation of armaments and treaties to this end, and

Whereas, progress has been achieved toward peace and international understanding by an agreed international naval building program which covers all types of vessels and by the provision made for future conferences, and

Whereas, the building program provided under the treaty for the United States Navy is permissive only and not mandatory, therefore be it

Resolved, That the National League of Women Voters heartily supports the treaties which resulted from the recent Conference on Limitation of Naval Armaments held in London.

Other individual organizations, in addition to supporting the program of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, have taken action on special issues. Seventeen women's organizations, members of the Women's Congressional Committee, formed the Women's World Court Committee and led in the campaign for American adherence to the Court. These organizations were:

The American Association of University Women, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Home Economics Association, the American Nurses' Association, the Council of Women for Home Missions, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations, the National Congress of Parents and

Teachers, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Women, the National Education Association, the National Federation of Colored Women, the National League of Women Voters, the National Service Star Legion, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Medical Women's National Association, and the Girls' Friendly Society in America.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs is putting special emphasis on friendlier relations with Latin America. The Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America in their 1930 conference voted for an educational campaign on the new protocol to the World Court and American adherence to the Court, and on the Inter-American Arbitration Treaty. This group has also voted to devote special attention to the question of interracial attitudes among children. The Service Star Legion has pledged itself "individually and collectively" to the support of the Kellogg Peace Pact, has voted to "support the President" in his avowed purpose to limit armaments by international agreement, and adopted as one of its major purposes the study of international problems.

The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods promotes study courses in its local groups and takes part in local peace activities. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom studies and recommends action on economic policies affecting peace, and it has recently voted to support the Frazier amendment proposed by the Women's Peace

Union, although it does not support the non-resistance position of that organization.

Behind their study of the technical problems of peace, there is among the women's organizations a strong sense of women's peculiar responsibility for the advancement of peace. The organized power of women who vote has been united on no other issue as it has on this issue of peace and war, and largely because of their interest and insistence peace has become an issue which can no longer be disregarded in practical politics. Delegations of women have attended recent party conventions demanding peace planks in party platforms, and national and local groups have sent questionnaires to candidates asking their position on questions affecting peace and war. The pressing question now seems to be how the rank and file of women outside the organized women's movement can be roused to the human significance of these technical problems, and so be led to put the full force of their influence in the home, in the community, and as voting citizens of the nation, behind the effort for peace.

The Churches and Peace

There has never been a time since the establishment of Christianity when there has not been at least some small group opposing war and asserting the pacifism of the Christian faith. But not until the years immediately before the World War were church groups organized to devote all or part of their

effort to the promotion of world peace. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was formed in 1908 to promote "the spirit of fellowship, service and cooperation" among the Protestant Christian churches. The World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches was organized in 1914 to act as the executive body of the Church Peace Union, in which Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish churches are represented.

Since the war these two great church bodies have been constantly active in the promotion of peace. The Church Peace Union called the first international conference of churches after the armistice and is responsible for the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion now being organized. At the annual international Goodwill Congress of the World Alliance in 1929 recommendations were adopted urging all religious fellowships to make plain that "the churches propose henceforth in thought and in act to be governed by the pledges made on behalf of our nation in the treaty renouncing war"; supporting actual reduction of armaments, adherence of the United States to the World Court, admission of Japan to the quota provisions of the immigration law, amendment of the Covenant of the League of Nations in harmony with the Kellogg Pact, and subsequent membership of the United States in the League; opposing all military training in public schools and compulsory military training in colleges, and urging cooperation of all thoughtful men and women in a general educational campaign for peace.

The Federal Council, which today stands "committed to unremitting activity until a peace system takes the place of competitive armament and war," carries on an active educational program through its Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. The Executive Committee of the Federal Council at its annual meeting for 1930 adopted a message to the churches on world peace which included support of the London Naval Conference as "another step in the general program of reducing all armaments"; support of membership in the World Court as essential to our pledges under the Kellogg Pact; of the Inter-American Arbitration Treaty; of proposals for an embargo on the export of arms to nations violating the Kellogg Pact; of the development of a regular procedure of international conference with regard to any threat of violation of the Pact; of amendment of the naturalization law in harmony with the Pact, to admit to citizenship those who have conscientiously renounced war. The message concluded with these paragraphs:

In the light of the Peace Pact, preparations for war should soon cease in every land. In the United States this should lead at an early date to drastic reductions in the budgets for the army and navy, in harmony with the statements of President Hoover, without impairing reasonable provision for national security. . . .

Because the Church of Jesus Christ is committed to those ideals and values which are fundamental to the Pact, and because war denies, violates and outrages them, the Church, to be true to its Lord and to

itself, must grapple with war, the most insidious evil that menaces mankind.

In this struggle the task of the Church is to educate the people, to enlighten their minds, to deepen their convictions, to strengthen their wills, and to develop a collective conscience in dealing with the problems of war and peace.

These recommendations of the general body are carried out and in many instances strengthened by the resolutions of the various denominations. The Methodist Episcopal Church has appropriated funds for the support of its own World Peace Commission, which conducts a thoroughgoing educational program throughout all branches of the church. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church declared in 1924, "We as an organization separate ourselves from war and take no part in its promotion." The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (South) has stated its conviction that "the church should never again bless a war, or be used as an instrument in the promotion of war." The Northern Baptist Convention meeting after the London Naval Conference urged that the treaty "should not be made the basis for an extensive navy building program," and that in all legislation affecting international relations the significance of the Kellogg Peace Pact should be recognized. The Unitarian ministers have asserted their "determination never to sanction or participate in a war." The position of the Friends, of the Mennonites, of the members of the Church of the Brethren

and of the Moravian Church has long been in advance of that of other religious groups on this whole problem.

In 1927 the Catholic Association for International Peace was organized "to study, disseminate and apply the principles of natural law and Christian charity to international problems of the day; to consider the moral and legal aspects of any action which may be proposed or advocated in the international sphere; to examine and consider issues which bear upon international goodwill; to encourage the formation of conferences, lectures and study circles; to issue reports on questions of international importance, and to further, in cooperation with similar Catholic organizations in other countries in accord with the teachings of the Church, the objects and purposes of world peace and happiness." Through the efforts of this association a special peace day has been set aside for observance in schools and colleges; an international exchange of scholarships has been organized; material has been prepared for courses in the parochial schools; and a series of valuable pamphlets on international topics has been published for adult study.

The promotion of peace is a fundamental part of the belief of the members of the Christian Science Church and of the Theosophical Society. In the Bahá'i faith the unity of mankind and world peace are basic principles and their realization is a definite goal. The Mormon Church devotes special study to problems of peace.

The Hebrew congregations, through the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and through their organized women's groups, are taking an important and increasingly active part in peace work. The Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has recommended to its congregations that special instruction be given children on the causes of international friction, and "in those principles of life and conduct, both personal and national, taught by the sages and prophets of Israel that emphasize our common humanity and make for peace and understanding." It has also recommended that each congregation appoint a committee on peace to cooperate in all community peace projects. The Central Conference of American Rabbis has declared its belief "that war is morally indefensible," and asserted its eagerness, together with members of other creeds, to contribute all possible strength and devotion "in order that the curse of war shall be lifted from the world."

The young people's organizations in the churches are putting increasing emphasis on study and support of peace measures. Those of a number of the Protestant churches have united in the Crusade with Christ, inaugurated several years ago by the International Society of Christian Endeavor, the goals being evangelism, world peace and Christian citizenship. In a study pamphlet, "Young People and International Goodwill," published by the Crusade with Christ Committee, war is declared to be man-

kind's greatest enemy, and to get rid of war "mankind's biggest job." The Society of Christian Endeavor, the Epworth League, the young people's organizations of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Hebrew congregations, as well as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, publish literature, conduct study courses, arrange special programs, and promote projects in the interest of peace and international goodwill through their local branches.

In the Sunday schools there has been recently a revision of various series of lesson courses to include special lessons on world peace. The periodical publications of several of the denominations have also included suggestions and outlines of lessons on peace. All the churches have been particularly active in promoting study groups among the young people's associations, and in carrying out in the Sunday schools the international projects of the Committee on World Friendship Among Children, which have included the sending of dolls to Japan, schoolbags to Mexico, and treasure chests to the Philippines. The Japanese and Mexican children have in turn made response through "doll ambassadors" and articles of handwork which have been exhibited in the schools and Sunday schools of the United States. The Missionary Education Movement, through which a large number of denominations cooperate, puts constant emphasis on peace and world goodwill and publishes not only books but other educational material for adults and for children of all ages.

Missions and Peace

But perhaps the most significant change in the attitude of the churches is to be found in the declarations of the missionary groups. In 1928 the International Missionary Council, meeting in Jerusalem, adopted a statement known as the Christian Message, which included striking statements reflecting a new relationship with people of other lands, a new sense of responsibility in regard to international affairs, and a new consciousness of the inconsistency of Christianity and war:

. . . we would repudiate any symptoms of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests. . . .

. . . we ardently desire that the younger churches should express the Gospel through their own genius and through forms suitable to their racial heritage. There must be no desire to lord it over the personal or collective faith of others. . . .

The churches of the West send missions and missions-of-help to the churches of Africa and Asia. We believe that the time is come when all would gain if the younger churches were invited to send missions-of-help to the churches of Europe and America, that they may minister of their treasure to the spiritual life of those to whom they come. To non-Christians also we make our call. We rejoice to think that just because in Jesus Christ the light that lighteneth every man shone forth in its full splendor, we find rays of that same light where He is unknown or even is re-

jected. We welcome every noble quality in non-Christian persons or systems as further proof that the Father who sent His Son into the world has nowhere left Himself without witness. . . .

We believe that the Gospel proclaims the only way by which humanity can escape from class- and race-hatred. But we are forced to recognize that such a claim requires to be made good, and that the record of Christendom hitherto is not sufficient to sustain it. Nor has it sufficiently sought out the good and noble elements in the non-Christian beliefs, that it might learn that deeper personal fellowship with adherents to those beliefs wherein they may be more powerfully drawn to the living Christ. . . . Our efforts have not been commensurate with the needs of the world or with the claim of Christ; but in what has been accomplished and attempted we have already great encouragement for the days to come. In particular there is a growing sensitiveness of conscience with regard to war and the conditions that may lead up to it. . . .

Those who proclaim Christ's message must give evidence for it in their own lives and in the social institutions which they uphold. . . . They are also bound to exert all their influence to secure that the social, international, and interracial relationships in the midst of which their work is done, are subordinate to and expressive of His spirit. Especially must it be a serious obstacle to missionary effort if a non-Christian country feels that the relation of the so-called Christian countries to itself is morally unsound or is alien from the principles of Christ, and the Church must be ready for labor and sacrifice to remove whatever is justly so condemned. . . .

Confronted by international relations that constantly flout Christ's law of love, there is laid on all who bear His name the solemn obligation to labor unceasingly for a new world order in which justice shall be secured for all peoples, and every occasion for war or threat of war be removed. . . .

The Jersualem meeting also put on record its conviction that "the protection of missionaries should be only by such methods as will promote goodwill in personal and official relations," and urged upon all missionary societies that they "should make no claim on their governments for the armed defense of their missionaries and their property." The same desire that armed forces should not be used for the protection of missionaries in foreign lands has been expressed by the China Inland Mission, and by the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

These new declarations of the churches have not, it is true, been put as yet to any real test. The activities and bitterly militaristic spirit of many of the churches during the last war are frequently cited to discourage the hope that should another war take place, the churches would abide by their present peace convictions. To this it may be said that before the recent world conflict the churches had assumed no such position of avowed and united opposition to war as they have since, nor had their members studied, as they now have, the causes and character and results of war. The practical futility and the spiritual inconsistency of attempting to

realize spiritual ideals through war had not been brought home to the churches any more than to the rest of the world. Finally, the emotional appeal of patriotism which has heretofore carried church and all other groups into enthusiastic support of war is becoming a force on the side of peace, for the truth of the Quaker declaration, "No more patriotic service in any nation can be rendered than to save that nation and others from war," is being realized by a rapidly increasing number of citizens.

The Schools and Peace

In educational circles, organized effort for peace has developed since the war with astounding rapidity. The work of international associations has already been referred to. In the colleges the Institute of International Education, administering a large number of international fellowships and exchange professorships; the International Relations Clubs, in approximately two hundred colleges, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment (these clubs are now spreading to foreign countries); the National Student Federation affiliated with the International Federation of Students; the Intercollegiate Peace Association, which conducts annual oratorical contests; all these are among the organizations promoting better international understanding. The number of courses on international relations in the colleges has very rapidly multiplied since the war, the plan of a junior year abroad has been developed, and international

institutes during the summer months have been organized, all of these being agencies which develop knowledge of international affairs. Not only special courses in existing universities but special colleges are being formed for the express purpose of studying international subjects. Student fellowships have been established for Latin American countries as well as for European and Oriental countries. It is an interesting fact that following the enactment of the Japanese Exclusion Law, Japanese students in New York raised a fund for an American student to study for a year in Japan, in the desire to create better understanding of that country.

In the schools the National Education Association, the American School Citizenship League, the American Federation of Teachers, the National Council of Teachers of English, the Association of Principals of Secondary Schools, the Junior Red Cross, various state boards of education and many local committees are promoting courses on international relations, special programs and projects, the observance of Armistice Day and Goodwill Day, the encouragement of foreign travel for teachers and exchange of letters and portfolios among students. The 1930 Assembly of the National Education Association recommended that the Paris pact be taught in the schools, and urged universal observance of Goodwill Day, May 18. High schools in California carried out a Mexican project which met with great appreciation in that country when health chests were filled with useful articles and sent to the rural schools.

The Kansas State Board of Education has authorized high schools to offer credit for a one-semester course in international relations, and has arranged for the preparation of an outline for such a course. A number of scientific studies have been made and others are contemplated showing the attitude of students on international problems. Several school organizations, including the School World Friendship League and the World League of International Education Associations, have been formed. Annual oratorical and essay contests on the subject of peace are held by the League of Nations Association, the American School Citizenship League, the Brooks-Bright Foundation, and several other organizations.

The League of Nations Association reports that five thousand, three hundred students representing thirty-five states and two hundred and forty colleges and schools, participated in forty-four model assemblies of the League of Nations and three model sessions of the World Court during the school year of 1929–1930. Four hundred students from thirty-five colleges took part in such an assembly at Yale University. Through the National Student Forum on the Paris Pact 122,000 students in over fifteen hundred high schools in the United States devoted special study to the Kellogg Peace Pact during the same school year of 1929–1930.

While the American School Citizenship League has been carrying on its work for peace in the schools for many years, the extent of the present effort among teachers and school authorities themselves makes it

in reality a new movement, the influence of which has hardly begun to be felt. In the education of young people in international understanding and goodwill lies the hope of carrying to success the struggle not only for the abolition of war now under way, but for the creation of a more just and friendlier world when war shall have been abolished.

Business Organizations and Peace

Another extremely important group, the business organizations, heretofore counted as in general sympathetic with war activities, is now proving an influence on the side of peace. Their general position has been indicated in the discussion on international organizations. The United States Chamber of Commerce, following the London Naval Conference when ratification of the treaty was delayed in the Senate, sent a letter to all senators urging favorable action. In 1929 the Chamber endorsed the principles of the Kellogg Pact and proposals consistent with that treaty for the effective reduction of armaments, and quoted as an established policy of the organization its referendum vote taken several years ago urging:

That the United States should take the initiative in joining with other nations in agreeing to bring concerted economic pressure to bear upon any nation or nations which resort to military measures without submitting their differences to an international court or a council of conciliation and then awaiting the decisions of the court or the recommendations

of the council as circumstances make the most appropriate. . . .

The relief of humanity from the intolerable sacrifices of war and its inevitable burdens of taxation which for centuries have prevented the highest development of civilization, represent the world's great challenge to the intelligence of statesmen. We pledge our unqualified support to our President and our government in every effort toward the suppression of war as an instrument of national policy.

The peace movement is, then, not only an old and a patriotic movement, but worldwide and powerful and with notable victories to its credit. In England the protests of British workers prevented war with Russia, and later, war in the Near East. In the United States the peace movement is definitely credited with having prevented an outbreak of hostilities with Mexico in 1927, with having defeated the big-navy program of 1928, with having influenced a change of policy in regard to Nicaragua and Haiti, with having secured the first resolution of adherence with reservations to the World Court, and with having carried the Kellogg Pact to successful ratification.

Yet in his pamphlet on the American peace movement, Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, who travels every year from end to end of this country and keeps in constant touch with the peace activities of many groups, declares that the peace movement today is "insufficiently informed, insufficiently organized, and therefore as yet inadequate for the achievement of its

great purpose." The hope of the movement, he says, "lies in its vigor and moral purpose and in its growing unity of action. It is recognized throughout the world that America is the key to world peace. To educate this great nation on so complex an issue will require intensive organization and the development and standardization of the best methods. It is the task of the American peace movement to see to it that our country is adequately prepared for its great mission."

The problem is for the rank and file of voting citizens to acquire the information and knowledge which have made the leaders of church, business and educational organizations take an emphatic stand against war. It is at the point where the peace movement depends on the average man and woman that it is weak, and it is here that the effort of every individual may be made to count.

2. What You Can Do for Peace

KNOWLEDGE and hard thinking are the first necessities of any successful work for world peace. This does not mean that you must have knowledge of all the technical problems before you begin active work, but it does mean that you must do more than not want war. It means that you must want peace and know why you want it, and that the

greater your knowledge of how to get it the greater your influence will be.

The hold of war on men's minds, which is the hold of tradition and of ignorance, must be broken. There is today no reason for war; there is only the habit of war which the world has so far not overcome. To overcome a habit requires first a firm conviction of the need to overcome it, and next constant vigilance, for wherever conscious attention fails, action will follow the established channels. The older the habit and the more it is associated with emotion, the more determined must be the effort to overcome it. The habit of war is as old as civilization, and has always involved the deepest emotions. The attempt to overcome it is the greatest intellectual and spiritual challenge that mankind has ever faced.

Where to Begin

The ancients had a saying that those who wished to improve the world must first put their states in order; that before they could put their states in order they must regulate their families; before they could regulate their families they must perfect their own souls; to perfect their own souls they must be sincere in their thoughts; to be sincere in their thoughts they must extend their knowledge to the utmost by investigating things and seeing them as they are.

The beginning of peace work is knowledge of things as they are; knowledge that the old boundaries between nations have been broken down; that our

civilization is a world civilization which can progress only as a unit; that war today is war conducted from the air against cities and citizens, and as between nations amounts to a suicide pact; that means exist for the settlement of disputes without war; that although the conflicts of interest which have heretofore led to war still exist, war is no longer a method by which they can be adjusted.

There must be specific knowledge of the measures which will promote peace, and of policies which make toward war. Establishment of peace requires the creation of peace machinery, and, as the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War stated, "the demobilization of the war system as rapidly as bit by bit it can be replaced by effective peace machinery." Action along these lines must be government action, and the will of citizens can be expressed only through their representatives in Congress. It is not merely the citizen's right but the citizen's duty to make his desires on important policies known to his representatives. Traditional policies based on old conditions are almost certain to be followed by Congress unless a change of sentiment is evidenced among the people. When the treaty for adherence to the World Court comes up for ratification in the Senate, when the Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration is introduced for discussion, expressions of public opinion in their favor must be sufficient to offset older influences. Knowledge of the steady growth of arbitration, of the development of the idea of the World Court, will help to build up this sentiment. Knowledge of the re-

peated efforts of this government to bring about reduction of armaments, and of the determined policy of the country since its founding to avoid a large military establishment and remain free from the imposition of military training, will create behind members of Congress who are encouraging measures in these directions, the support they need.

For example, in connection with the move toward universal military training there have been repeated efforts during the last few years to secure what has been called universal draft legislation, supposedly designed to draft capital as well as man power. None of these proposed measures effectively drafted capital, and all have been bitterly opposed by labor groups as putting the burden of war more than ever upon the shoulders of the working people and endangering their constitutional rights even in time of peace. These attempts have now been modified and resulted in the adoption of the Grundy-Snell joint resolution creating a commission, composed of four members of the House, four members of the Senate, and six members of the Cabinet, "to study and consider amending the Constitution of the United States to provide that private property may be taken by Congress for public use during war, for methods of equalizing the burdens of war and to remove the profits of war, together with a study of policies to be pursued in event of war." Clerical assistance to the committee is to be furnished by the War Department, and its report is to be transmitted to Congress not later than the first of December, 1931. It is specifi-

cally provided that the commission is not to report upon the conscription of labor. The fundamental objection to this legislation is that it means increased preparation for war when war has been renounced.

The Kellogg Peace Pact should become the touchstone for national and international policies alike, and these should gradually be brought into harmony with its purposes, for it is, as President Hoover has said, "the supreme law" of the land. The naval building program under the London Treaty is, for example, one of the issues the decision of which must be influenced by the existence of the Pact.

Since there are still those who insist that, whatever its results, war will go on because it is "part of human nature" and "inevitable," those who are working for peace must also have knowledge of the findings of modern research on these points.

There was once good reason to believe that war, since it had always existed, was indeed "human nature," and that therefore there was no escape from it. But today it is known that cooperation is as much a law of life as conflict, and an even greater force in the struggle for survival. Psychological studies prove that children are not "born pugnacious," while the old belief that primitive man was warlike is repeatedly challenged by students.

For a long time there was equally good reason for believing war "inevitable." Under earlier forms of government, so far as the common man was concerned, the beginnings and endings of wars could

no more be controlled than could earthquakes and thunderstorms. But with democracy the ways of government ceased to be divine mysteries, and war came to be seen for what it is, one of various possible methods of settling an international dispute.

Again, it is knowledge alone which will break down the old association of ideas in the case of patriotism and militarism. If patriotism means service to country, it must take into account changed conditions and changed needs. The reason war has been renounced as an instrument of national policy is because national welfare can no longer be promoted by war. Not alone the prosperity of nations but the development of their special gifts and characteristics depends upon the creation of a stable world order. The service of citizens who continue to think of their countries in terms of yesterday, as isolated, self-sufficient, primarily fighting units, can be of little constructive value today.

To get knowledge and understanding of these questions, and the conviction which goes with them, it is important to read books, magazines and newspapers, and to read them intelligently, with some degree of information concerning the value of sources and with an open mind. In particular it is well to read more than one daily newspaper in order to check up on any bias in reports. There is seldom any deliberate misrepresentation, but the difficulty of gathering facts from every corner of the world is very great and regular reading of more than one publication is necessary in order that early information may be corrected by later.

Membership in some organization interested in peace, or regular reading of its publications is important in keeping well informed. Many peace periodicals may be obtained free or at a nominal cost. Lists are given in the Appendix of this volume.

But to be well informed one's self is not enough. Knowledge and understanding must be spread as widely as possible. No opportunity should be lost to discuss current international issues. It is M. Briand of France who says that those who want peace must talk peace, and the place to begin, if the sound advice of the ancients is followed, is in one's own family.

Through the Family

If a family, particularly one in which there are young people, is to learn to think in terms of the world, there should be in the home some reminders in the form of maps and globes. Lines of world communication can be traced on maps and world exchange of products indicated. His own map of the world will interest any child. On it the countries which he has visited can be filled in in one color, those in which he has friends in a different color, those about which he has heard from anyone in yet another, and those about which he has read in still another. Gradually these colors will change and blank spaces be filled in. International radio broadcasts are contributing to the creation of world-mindedness. It may be further cultivated by having in the home reproductions of the art and music of

other nations, books and pictures having to do with foreign places, and current publications in a foreign language with which any member of the family is familiar.

To help children gain a sense of the unity of the universe and of mankind, tell them the simpler facts of the structure of the universe, of the earth and other planets, of the sun and stars. Against the background of a universe it is natural to think of mankind as a united group.

Tell them of man's life on earth as a continuous story, showing his progress from age to age; how, living under different conditions, men acquired different skills and knowledge; how our present civilization has been built up out of the contributions of all races and nations. Dwell upon the fact that men everywhere are busy about the same tasks, and have much the same purposes and pleasures. (The Book List at the end of this volume includes several titles that will be helpful in such teaching.)

In a rapidly changing world the best equipment to give a child is open-mindedness. Teach children to discriminate between facts which can be demonstrated, and opinions which they hear expressed. Teach them to test their own opinions by continued observation, and not to be troubled by finding that their earlier opinions were incorrect. When they begin to read, teach them to consider the source of the information offered, the experience and quality of mind of the writer, and how to compare one opinion with another. Make them aware that they

are living in a transition age in which ideas about many things are changing, to be followed, we hope, by some change in practice. Such conception is necessary if young people are to avoid discouragement when they come to realize the inconsistency between the ideals urged upon them and the conditions they see around them. This is particularly true in regard to the human perplexities of race relations.

There are now many books written for boys and girls about the people of other lands which tell not only of the different customs but of the common problems and occupations, and of the contributions which each land has made to our common civilization. Besides his map of the world a child might have a world bookshelf which would gradually extend to include books about all countries. Bibliographies on children's books are included in the Book List.

Through the Library

To spread knowledge in the community in which you are living, of present-day facts which are compelling peace, the logical place to begin is with the resources of the library. The great majority of librarians will be already interested and will welcome help in arranging special tables and shelves of books and magazines on world problems. If the library funds are not sufficient, a committee could be formed to secure a donation or to raise funds for the purchase of books and magazines dealing with international affairs, and of periodicals published by peace organiza-

tions. International Mind Alcoves have been arranged in many libraries by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which will send further information.

In the children's room various books may be arranged to suggest a trip around the world, perhaps by having a globe of the earth in the center of a table and the books set up around it, or by having a map of the world on a wall, with bright-colored ribbons leading down to books about various nations spread out on the table below the map. Posters of other countries would form interesting decorations for the room; a set of special interest might be collected by people who are making trips abroad. The libraries of Los Angeles and of Louisville, Kentucky, have carried out very interesting summer projects with children, called "world tours through books," including passports and other realistic details. Projects of this sort, including pictures of the children's room, and reviews of new books on international topics, should be sent to the local papers.

The schools, churches, local organizations and motion picture houses, the local papers and broadcasting stations where they exist, offer other possibilities for reaching the public with the facts on world affairs.

Through Business Groups

Do the people of your community know how their occupations depend on other countries? An exhibit arranged in some centrally located building or in a factory or shop window, indicating on a map or by

labels the different parts of the world from which materials used in local products are obtained and the foreign markets in which local products are sold, will be of interest to everyone. There is no community whose economic life is not bound up with other countries, and whose welfare is not related to their welfare. If the resolutions of the International Chamber of Commerce and the United States Chamber of Commerce are brought to the attention of local chambers, there is every reason to believe that these bodies will take an active interest in promoting such an exhibit, as well as in taking part in meetings or in the celebration of special peace days. In several cities on Armistice Day or Goodwill Day groups of merchants have carried large advertisements in local papers, pointing out the fundamental relation of world peace to business prosperity.

Through the Churches

A practical first step for the churches to take is to make sure that the resolutions adopted by the national bodies are known to all their members and are being carried out. Armistice Sunday, Christmas, and Goodwill Sunday, the Sunday nearest May 18, offer particularly good opportunities for a community peace service. The young people's organizations and the Sunday schools, if they are not already taking part, should be interested in the available study courses, projects and programs prepared by their national organizations. Local peace committees

corresponding to the national peace committees of the various churches should be organized, and may be able to cooperate in joint meetings or study courses or in special celebrations. A joint meeting would be appropriate for studying the latest public questions on which the Federal Council of the Churches has taken action, with someone to speak on each topic, or for studying the significance of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion, with speakers who are in touch with the preparations being made for it. At a joint luncheon meeting of the men's church organizations there could be a discussion on current problems requiring political action. A book committee within each church might be formed to supply the library with the latest publications on the church and world peace, including recent discussions of scriptural texts on peace and war such as the pamphlet by Wilbur K. Thomas, called "The Biblical Basis of Friends' Opposition to War," and "Words of Christ Commonly Quoted Against War," prepared by a committee of the New York Presbytery. The resolutions of the missionary societies deserve special study, for the spirit which they urge toward other races needs to find expression in home communities as well.

Through the Schools

In beginning work with the schools it should be remembered that the legitimate question—legitimate because free from any ulterior propaganda—with

which to approach schools is this: Are the schools teaching the facts of the modern interdependent world, and avoiding the creation of prejudices left over from a time when correct information about other peoples was less easily available?

Talk with members of school boards, principals and teachers on the problem of educating children for the new world as it is today. Make sure they are familiar with the policies of the World Federation of Education Associations, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers; that they know what other schools are doing; that they have in their libraries a selection of the best books on world interdependence, on our changing civilization, and on education for world citizenship.

Armistice Day and Goodwill Day afford excellent opportunities for beginning work in the schools. A year-long project may be begun on Armistice Day and concluded on Goodwill Day, or special programs and pageants can be arranged. Program material and information in regard to sources for it may be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War. If the school does not already belong, it might become a member of the Junior Red Cross, or, if it is not already doing so, it might join in one of the projects of the Committee on World Friendship Among Children. Model assemblies of the League of Nations which the League of Nations Association would be glad to help arrange are interesting for older classes. There should be a Kellogg Pact poster in every school and it should have a place in all peace

celebrations. The National Student Forum on the Paris Pact will send information in regard to posters and material for special study of the Pact.

Citizens should be well informed as to the extent of military training in the local schools, and the amount of influence that is being brought to bear upon the schools to introduce or extend military training courses. Information in regard to other communities which have done away with military training in their schools, as well as general information on this subject, may be obtained from the Committee on Militarism in Education.

Through Organizations

All local organizations—women's clubs, labor groups, commercial bodies and men's fraternal organizations—should be approached, if possible through a member, to find out just what they are doing to carry out the peace work called for in their national resolutions. An interesting public meeting can be arranged at which representatives of these groups may speak on the necessity of world peace from their special point of view. Preceding such a meeting a committee of people particularly interested might conduct a survey to discover just how much interest and activity for peace exists in the community, and report. Programs for Armistice Day, Goodwill Day, Kellogg Pact Day (August 27), Christmas, and July Fourth, may be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War.

Another opportunity for community action is provided by Memorial Day, a day on which several cities are now conducting special services in honor of "heroes of social construction." Information in regard to such programs may be obtained from the Peace Heroes Memorial Society, the National Council for Prevention of War, and the Pennsylvania Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. It is interesting to know that a bill has been introduced in Congress providing for the presentation of medals and honorary awards of one thousand dollars to men and women who, while in the employ of the federal government, have made outstanding contributions to the advancement of scientific knowledge or rendered conspicuous service to humanity at the voluntary risk of life or health.

Through the Press

The desire and demand of the people for peace can lead to action only in so far as it is brought to the attention of government officials. Therefore every activity indicating interest in the establishment of peace should be reported to the local newspapers, and particularly to the rural papers when of any interest to their readers.

On special occasions, such as Armistice Day and Goodwill Day, a quarter, half or full page advertisement might be published pointing out the significance of the day and the pertinent facts in regard to peace and war. Funds for these advertisements may

be obtained from local business houses or from individuals; and the advertisements should be signed with the names of those contributing. Special articles or a symposium on world interdependence or on the necessity of peace in the modern world, to be prepared by prominent men and women in the community preferably representing different groups, may be suggested to the editor. Letters for publication or personal letters to the editor expressing interest in anything published on international affairs, or protesting against news reports or editorial comments which seem unfair, are worth while.

The motion picture houses and the radio, which reach millions of people daily, are potential forces of great power. The simplest way in which local organizations or individuals can make these agencies count for peace is to arrange for the showing of special slides on occasions such as Armistice Day, Christmas, Goodwill Day, or the anniversary of the signing of the Kellogg Pact, or to prepare if not a full program, then a special statement to be read over the nearest broadcasting station. The motion picture slides should carry important facts and quotations. Whenever a picture is shown or radio program given which tends to further the cause of peace, letters should be written expressing interest, and similarly letters of protest should be sent about points that are objectionable.

As a Voting Citizen

Another step toward a better world, according to the ancients, was to put one's own state in order. No work for peace is effective except in so far as it creates a public opinion which finds expression in government action. Every local activity indicating interest in the promotion of peace should be brought to the attention of the community's representatives in Congress, and on important matters to the attention of the President as well. It is of importance to know on what committees in the House and Senate your representatives are serving, for they may in this way have special influence on measures affecting peace. It should not be enough for a member of Congress to vote for an important measure; in so far as possible he should work for it by speaking in Congress and in public, and when permanent policies are at issue he should be expected to work to have his party endorse them.

Local and state politicians as well as members of Congress must be reached if party policies are to be influenced. Repeated delegations should be sent to men of political influence. All candidates should be questioned as to their position on important international topics, and no member of Congress should ever arrive home without being questioned as to just what he and his party are doing to promote peace through national legislation.

Above all, citizens should not wait until a time of crisis to make their influence felt. The issues of

peace and war depend upon the determination from day to day of all policies affecting international relations. Every representative in Congress and every national official should feel continually his responsibility for protecting the people against war and providing them with the opportunities of a stable peace.

The peace movement has had its martyrs in the early Christians who preferred death to service in the Roman army; it has had its prophets in men like Dante and Kant and Erasmus; it has had its adventurers like William Penn; the immediate need today is for vigilance on the part of well-informed voting citizens, for upon the men and women elected to office and upon the support they are given depend the ratification of arbitration treaties, the progress of disarmament, the promotion of world organization. If war is to be avoided the machinery of peace must be rapidly built up. It is a task not for tomorrow, but for today.

APPENDIX

A Selected List of Books and Pamphlets on Peace

Arranged according to sections and topics

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

PEACE FORCES OF TODAY. Alice M. Matthews. 1930. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Library, Washington, D. C. Free.

READING LIST. 1930. World Unity, N. Y. 25 cents.

WORLD AFFAIRS, BOOKS ON FOREIGN COUNTRIES. Bibliographies on international relations. World Peace Foundation.

For Reference

List of books on special topics may be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

Boeckel, Florence Brewer. BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE. 1928. Macmillan. Order from the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. $2.00. General reference book discussing in greater detail topics treated in the present volume.

GENERAL

History of Mankind

Kropotkin, P. MUTUAL AID. 1925. Knopf, N. Y. $2.00.

Perry, W. J. THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATION. 1923. Dutton, N. Y. $2.50. Out of print. May be found in bookshops and libraries.

Wells, H. G. OUTLINE OF HISTORY. 1926. Garden City Publishing Co., N. Y. $1.00.

International Relations

Buell, Raymond L. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. 1929. Holt, N. Y. $5.00.

Burns, C. Delisle. A SHORT HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE. 1924. Oxford, N. Y. $1.75.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD, 1918–1928. Brewer and Warren, N. Y. $3.50.

Hutchinson, Paul. THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. 1929. Willett, Clark, and Colby, N. Y. $2.00.

Randall, John H. A WORLD COMMUNITY. 1930. Stokes, N. Y. $2.50.

Foreign Relations of the United States

Howland, Charles P., Ed. Survey of American Foreign Relations. Vol. I, 1928. Vol. II, 1929. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven. $5.00 each.

Peace and War

Allen, William C. War. 1929. Winston, Phila. $1.50.

Kenworthy, J. M. Peace or War. 1927. Out of print. May be found in bookshops and libraries.

Mead, Lucia Ames. Law or War. 1928. Doubleday, Doran, N. Y. $1.75.

Smith, Fred B. Must We Have War? 1929. Harper, N. Y. $2.50.

Stratton, George Malcolm. Social Psychology of International Conduct. 1929. Appleton, N. Y. $3.00.

I—1. THE WORLD TODAY

Fosdick, Raymond B. The Old Savage in the New Civilization. 1928. Doubleday, Doran, N. Y. $2.50.

Gibbons, Herbert Adams. Wider Horizons. 1930. Century, N. Y. $3.00.

Potter, Pitman B. This World of Nations. 1929. Macmillan, N. Y. $4.00.

Redfield, William C. Dependent America. 1926. Houghton, Boston. $2.50.

I—2. WAR TODAY

Bogart, Ernest L. Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War. 1920. Oxford, N. Y. $1.00.

Chase, Stuart. Men and Machines. 1929. Macmillan, N. Y. $2.50.

Fradkin, Elvira K. Chemical Warfare—Its Possibilities and Probabilities. 1929. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, N. Y. 5 cents.

Irwin, Will. The Next War. 1921. Dutton, N. Y. $1.00.

Jordan, David Starr. War and the Breed. 1915. Beacon Press, Boston. $1.60.

Kenworthy, J. M. Peace or War. See under *General.*

Ludwig, Emil. July '14. 1929. Putnam, N. Y. $3.50.

Package of mimeographed material on a "next war." 1930. National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. 25 cents.

II—1. ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION

Kellogg Pact

Hughes, Charles Evans. The Year's Major Factors in the Progress

of Peace. Address delivered April 24, 1929. Obtainable through the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

Hull, Hon. Morton D. The Kellogg Pact and Neutrality. Address delivered January 8, 1930. May be obtained from author, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Shotwell, James T. War as an Instrument of National Policy and Its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris. 1929. Harcourt, N. Y. $3.50.

The Pact of Paris. Pamphlet. Carnegie Endowment, N. Y. 5 cents.

Arbitration

Fleming, Denna Frank. The Treaty Veto of the American Senate. 1930. Putnam, N. Y. $3.00.

Jessup, Philip C. The United States and Treaties for the Avoidance of War. International Conciliation Pamphlet. 1928. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, N. Y. 5 cents.

Pitney, Beatrice. The Pan-American Treaties of 1929. National League of Women Voters, New York. 10 cents.

Ralston, Jackson H. International Arbitration from Athens to Locarno. 1929. Stanford Univ. Press, Stanford, Cal. $5.00.

II—2. THE WORLD COURT AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Bustamante, A. S. The World Court. 1925. Macmillan, N. Y. $3.00.

Harris, H. Wilson. The League of Nations. 1929. Cape and Smith, N. Y. 60 cents.

Howard-Ellis, C. The Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations. 1928. Houghton, Boston. $7.00.

Jessup, Philip C. The United States and the World Court. 1929. World Peace Foundation, Boston. 40 cents.

The World Court. Pamphlet. Published by the American Foundation, N. Y. 1930. Free.

Pamphlets published by the League of Nations Association, N. Y.

Essential Facts in Regard to League of Nations, World Court and International Labor Organization. 1929. 5 cents.

A Ten Year Review of the League of Nations. 1930. 15 cents.

The Pact for the Renunciation of War and the Ninth Assembly. 1930. 10 cents.

No. I. International Health. 1928. Cabot. 5 cents.

No. II. International Finance and Commerce. 1928. Feis. Free.

No. III. The Cooperation of the United States with the League of Nations. 1930. 10 cents.

III—1. NATIONALISTIC POLICIES

Economics of World Peace. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Phila. July, 1930. $2.00.

Edwards, W. H. Heading for War. 1928. Brewer and Warren, N. Y. $1.50.

Hayes, C. J. H. Essays on Nationalism. 1926. Macmillan, N. Y. $3.00.

Moon, Parker T. Imperialism and World Politics. 1926. Macmillan. $3.50.

Motherwell, Hiram. The Imperial Dollar. 1929. Brentano's, N. Y. $3.50.

Our Imports and Who Use Them. 1928. National Foreign Trade Council, India House, Hanover Sq., N. Y. 10 cents.

Salter, Chirol and Tsurumi. The Reawakening of the Orient, and Other Addresses. 1925. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven. $2.00. (See lectures by Salter.)

Thompson, Warren S. Danger Spots in World Population. 1929. Knopf, N. Y. $3.50.

Latin-American Policies

Hughes, Charles Evans. Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere. 1928. Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton. $1.75.

Inman, Samuel Guy. Trailing the Conquistadores. 1930. Friendship Press, N. Y. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 60 cents.

Jones, Norton and Moon. The United States and the Caribbean. 1929. Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago. $1.50.

Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine. 1930. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 40 cents.

Race Prejudice

Lasker, Bruno. Race Attitudes in Children. 1929. Holt, N. Y. $4.00.

Leiper, Henry Smith. Blind Spots. 1929. Friendship Press, N. Y. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 60 cents.

Speer, Robert E. Of One Blood. 1924. Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, N. Y. 50 cents.

III—2. THE MENACE OF ARMAMENTS

Militarism

Citizenship Training Manual. 1928. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 30 cents.

Collins, Hon. Ross A. The Army and Propaganda Power. Order from author, House Office Bldg., Washington D. C.

Pamphlets published by the Committee on Militarism in Education, N. Y.

Barnes, Roswell P. MILITARIZING OUR YOUTH. 1927. 10 cents.

Lane, Winthrop D. MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. 1926. 10 cents.

Smith, Tucker P. 1929. So THIS IS WAR! 10 cents.

Armaments

THE LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS. October, 1929, issue of "The Congressional Digest," Washington, D. C. 50 cents.

Madariaga, Salvador. DISARMAMENT. 1929. Coward McCann, N. Y. $5.00.

MILITARY AND NAVAL EXPENDITURES. Editorial Research Reports, Washington, D. C., July 25, 1930. To be obtained in libraries.

Moore, Frederick. AMERICA'S NAVAL CHALLENGE. 1929. Macmillan, N. Y. $1.50.

IV—I. THE ORGANIZED PEACE MOVEMENT

The Peace Movement

Allen, Devere, Ed. PACIFISM IN THE MODERN WORLD. 1929. Richard R. Smith, N. Y. $2.00.

Boeckel, Florence Brewer. EFFORTS OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS LEADERS TO ABOLISH WAR. 1930. National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. 5 cents.

Call, Arthur Deerin. THE WILL TO END WAR. 1920. American Peace Society, Washington, D. C. 15 cents.

OUR COUNTRY AND WORLD PEACE. 1926. $1.25. Ibid.

Curti, Merle Eugene. THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE, 1815–1860. Duke Univ. Press, Durham, N. C. 1930. $3.50.

Libby, Frederick J. THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT. 1929. National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. 3 cents.

The Church

Brown, Ina Corinne. TRAINING FOR WORLD FRIENDSHIP. 1929. Cokesbury Press, Nashville, $1.00.

Fox, H. W. THE RELIGIOUS BASIS OF PEACE. 1930. Morehouse, Milwaukee. $2.50.

Mathews, Basil. ROADS TO THE CITY OF GOD. 1928. Richard R. Smith, N. Y. $1.00.

Richards, Leyton. THE CHRISTIAN'S ALTERNATIVE TO WAR. 1929. Macmillan, N. Y. $1.50.

Turnbull, Grace H. TONGUES OF FIRE. 1929. Macmillan, N. Y. $3.50.

Van Kirk, Walter W. HIGHWAYS TO INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL. 1930. Abingdon Press, N. Y. $1.00.

THE WORLD'S RELIGIONS AGAINST WAR. Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 50 cents.

THE WORDS OF CHRIST COMMONLY QUOTED FOR OR AGAINST WAR. Order from Mr. Harold A. Hatch, 79 Leonard St., N. Y.

Schools

Carr, William G. EDUCATION FOR WORLD-CITIZENSHIP. 1928. Stanford Univ. Press. $2.50.

Lobingier, Elizabeth Miller and John Leslie. EDUCATING FOR PEACE. 1930. Pilgrim Press, Boston. $2.00.

Prescott, Daniel A. EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. 1930. Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge. $2.50.

WORLD FRIENDSHIP. Committee on World Friendship, Los Angeles City Schools, Cal. 1928. 50 cents.

Women

Norris, Kathleen. WHAT PRICE PEACE? 1928. Doubleday, Doran, N. Y. 75 cents.

Youth

Matthews, Joseph B. YOUTH LOOKS AT WORLD PEACE. 1929. American Committee World Peace Congress, N. Y. $1.00.

IV—2. WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR PEACE

Books and Sources of Material for Programs, Study Courses and Work with Special Groups

Order and consult lists of publications of:

Epworth League
Federal Council of Churches
Foreign Policy Association
International Society of Christian Endeavor
League of Nations Association
Methodist Episcopal Church World Peace Commission
Missionary Education Movement
National Child Welfare Association
National Council for Prevention of War
National League of Women Voters, Department of International Cooperation
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Pennsylvania Branch
World Peace Foundation
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association

Lists of study courses, plays and pageants, motion pictures, lantern slides, songs. National Council for Prevention of War.

For Work with Children

Package of Material for Children. Includes pageants, games and lists of available material such as books, pictures, lantern slides, motion pictures, maps, projects, posters, songs, poems. National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. 25 cents.

Bibliographies

EVERYLAND. Compiled by the Newark Public Library. National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. 5 cents.

Special lists on PEACE HEROES and ALL THE WORLD IS ONE. National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

See catalogue of the Missionary Education Movement, N. Y.

Books for Little Children

Boeckel, Florence Brewer. THROUGH THE GATEWAY. Macmillan Co., N. Y. 75 cents.

Entwistle, Mary. BOOKS OF OTHER BABIES. Missionary Education Movement, N. Y. 40 cents.

Kirby, Mary and Elizabeth. AUNT MARTHA'S CORNER CUPBOARD. Albert Whitman Co., Chicago. $1.00.

Thomas, Margaret Loring. GEORGE WASHINGTON LINCOLN GOES AROUND THE WORLD. Nelson, N. Y. $1.50.

Warner, Gertrude C. THE WORLD IN A BARN. Friendship Press, N. Y. $1.25.

Yonge, Charlotte M. LITTLE LUCY'S WONDERFUL GLOBE. 1927. Harper, N. Y. $1.00.

THE CHILDREN'S STORY GARDEN. Lippincott, Phila. $1.00.

For Boys and Girls

Bridges, T. C. THE YOUNG FOLKS' BOOK OF DISCOVERY. Little, Brown, Boston. $2.00.

Chamberlin, Ethel Clere. HEROES OF PEACE. 1929. Sully, N. Y. $1.50.

Coffman, Ramon. THE CHILD'S STORY OF THE HUMAN RACE. 1927. Dodd, Mead, N. Y. $2.00.

Colson, Elizabeth. FRIENDS OF OURS. Missionary Education Movement, N. Y. 75 cents.

Griscom, Anna Bassett. PEACE CRUSADERS' ADVENTURES IN GOODWILL. 1929. Lippincott, Phila. $1.50.

Happold, F. Crossfield. THE ADVENTURE OF MAN. Harcourt, N. Y. $2.00.

Hulbert, Winifred. CEASE FIRING. 1929. Macmillan, N. Y. $1.50.

Kummer, Frederic A. FIRST DAYS OF HISTORY, FIRST DAYS OF KNOWLEDGE, FIRST DAYS OF MAN. Doubleday, Doran, N. Y. $2.00 each.

Marshall, Leon C. THE STORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS. 1929. Macmillan, N. Y. $1.48.

Phillips, Grace Darling. Far Peoples. 1929. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $2.00.
Redfield, William C. We and the World. 1927. Silver, Burdett, N. Y. 84 cents.
Wallace, Archer. Heroes of Peace. 1929. Doubleday, Doran, N. Y. $1.00.

Material for Sunday Schools

See catalogue of the Missionary Education Movement, N. Y.
Bonsall, Elizabeth. Goodwill Lessons, 15 cents. World Friendship Lessons, 20 cents. Church Peace Union, N. Y.
Brooks, Annie Sills. Adventuring in Peace and Goodwill. A Ten-day Junior Vacation School Course. Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1930. $1.00.
Lobingier, John Leslie. Projects in World-Friendship. 1925. Missionary Education Movement, N. Y. $1.25.
Hall, L. K. and others, eds. Christian Citizenship on a World Basis. 1929. Association Press, N. Y. $1.00.
List of Material on World Friendship Available for Sunday Schools. National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

BOOKS OF POEMS

Cease Firing. Edited by Anna W. Roussel. 1930. Winston, Phila. $1.00 and 50 cents.
The Red Harvest. Edited by Vincent G. Burns. 1930. Macmillan, N. Y. $3.75.

BOOKS OF QUOTATIONS

Education for Peace. A book of facts and opinions. 1926. Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 25 Madison Ave., N. Y. 25 cents.
Selected Quotations on Peace and War. 1915. Federal Council of Churches, N. Y. $1.00.

NEWS PERIODICALS OF PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

Advocate of Peace Through Justice. American Peace Society, Washington, D. C. Published quarterly, $3.00 a year.
Bi-Weekly Information Service. Foreign Policy Association, N. Y. $5.00 a year. News Bulletin, weekly, $1.00 a year.
Federal Council Bulletin. Federal Council of Churches, N. Y. Issued monthly, except July and August, $1.00 a year.

INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, N. Y. Monthly, except July and August, 25 cents a year.
LEAGUE OF NATIONS CHRONICLE. League of Nations Association, Chicago. Monthly, 50 cents a year.
LEAGUE OF NATIONS NEWS. League of Nations Association, N. Y. Monthly, $1.00 a year.
THE MESSENGER OF PEACE. Peace Association of Friends in America, Richmond, Ind. Monthly, 50 cents a year.
NEWS BULLETIN. National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. Monthly, 50 cents a year.
PAX INTERNATIONAL. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D. C. Monthly, 50 cents a year.

MAGAZINES DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND WORLD PEACE

BULLETIN of the Pan American Union. Washington, D. C. Monthly, $2.50 a year.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 25 West 43rd St., N. Y. Quarterly, $5.00 a year.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 34 Victoria St., London, S. W. Monthly, $1.25 a year.
PACIFIC AFFAIRS. P. O. Box 1561, Honolulu, Hawaii. Monthly, $2.00 a year.
RECORDS OF PROGRESS INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. Yellow Springs, Ohio. Quarterly, $2.00 (Students $1.50), a year.
UNITY. 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago. Weekly, $3.00 a year.
THE WORLD TOMORROW. 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, N. Y. Monthly, $2.00 a year.
WORLD UNITY. 4 East 12th St., N. Y. Monthly, $3.50 a year.

Organizations Mentioned in the Text

The following list of organizations with addresses is given for convenience in obtaining statements of policy and publications. It is by no means complete. Such a list published for the United States is entitled, "Organizations in the United States That Promote International Understanding and World Peace," price 15 cents. A similar list for Europe is found in "The Peace Year Book, 1929" price 25 cents.

Both may be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

American Association of University Women,
1634 Eye St., Washington, D. C.

American Committee World Youth Peace Congress,
Room 386, 104 East Ninth St., New York City

American Federation of Labor,
901 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C.

American Federation of Teachers,
Florence C. Hanson, Secretary, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

American Foundation,
565 Fifth Ave., New York City

American Friends Service Committee,
20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation,
2101 B St., Washington, D. C.

American Peace Society,
20 Jackson Pl., Washington, D. C.

American School Citizenship League,
295 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.

American Theosophical Society, International Order of Service,
Captain Max Wardall, Director,
Altadena, Calif.

Boy Scouts of America,
200 Fifth Ave., New York City

Brooks-Bright Foundation,
342 Madison Ave., New York City

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,
405 West 117th St., New York City
Library, 2 Jackson Pl., Washington, D. C.

Catholic Association for International Peace,
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Church Peace Union,
70 Fifth Ave., New York City

Committee on Educational Publicity,
305 West 113th St., New York City

Committee on Militarism in Education,
387 Bible House, Astor Pl., New York City

Committee on Peace and Service of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends,
15th and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

Committee on World Friendship Among Children,
289 Fourth Ave., New York City

Council of Women for Home Missions,
105 East 22nd St., New York City

Crusade with Christ Committee,
41 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

Epworth League,
740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

Federal Council of Churches,
105 East 22nd St., New York City

Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America,
419 Fourth Ave., New York City

Fellowship of Reconciliation,
383 Bible House, Astor Pl., New York City

Foreign Policy Association,
18 East 41st St., New York City

General Federation of Women's Clubs,
1734 N St., Washington, D. C.

Department of International Relations, Mrs. Ben Hooper, Chairman,
669 Algoma Blvd., Oshkosh, Wis.

Girl Scouts of America,
670 Lexington Ave., New York City

Girls' Friendly Society in America,
386 Fourth Ave., New York City

Institute of International Education,
2 West 45th St., New York City

Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii.
American headquarters, 129 East 52nd St., New York City

Intercollegiate Peace Association,
Yellow Springs, Ohio

International Missionary Council,
25 Madison Ave., New York City

International Society of Christian Endeavor,
41 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

Junior Red Cross,
Washington, D. C.

Kiwanis Club International,
Federal Reserve Bank Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Knighthood of Youth,
70 Fifth Ave., New York City

League of Nations Association,
6 East 39th St., New York City

Methodist Episcopal Church,
World Peace Commission, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City

Missionary Education Movement,
150 Fifth Ave., New York City

National Child Welfare Association,
70 Fifth Ave., New York City

National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War,
1010 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City

National Congress of Parents and Teachers,
1201 16th St., Washington, D. C.

National Council for Prevention of War,
532 Seventeenth St., Washington, D. C.
Branch Offices:
205 Sheldon Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.
612 Stock Exchange Bldg., Portland, Ore.
526 South Fourth St., Louisville, Ky.
333 Bridge St., Springfield, Mass.

National Council of Camp Fire Girls, Inc.,
41 Union Square, New York City

National Council of Jewish Women,
Department of Peace, Mrs. Oscar S. Marx, Chairman,
4353 McPherson Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.

National Council of Women of the United States,
Room 1020, 480 Lexington Ave., New York City

National Education Association,
1201 Sixteenth St., Washington, D. C.

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.,
1819 Broadway, New York City

National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods,
National Committee on Peace, Mrs. Ben Loewenstein, Chairman,
693 Gholson Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio

National Grange,
630 Louisiana Ave., Washington, D. C.

National League of Women Voters,
532 Seventeenth St., Washington, D. C.

Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War,
1015 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City

National Service Star Legion,
Mrs. Bruce W. Maxwell, Executive Secretary,
Millersville Rd. and 46th St., Indianapolis, Ind.

National Student Federation,
218 Madison Ave., New York City

National Student Forum on the Paris Pact,
532 Seventeenth St., Washington, D. C.

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union,
1730 Chicago Ave., Evanston, Ill. Mrs. May Bell Harper, Director, International Relations,
30 Middle Rd., Hamden, Conn.

National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union,
Mrs. Henry Necarsulmer, 255 W. 86th St., New York City

National Women's Trade Union League,
Machinists' Bldg., 901 Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C.

Pacifist Action Committee,
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City

Pan American Union,
Washington, D. C.

Peace Committee of the Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia,
304 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Peace Heroes Memorial Society,
3431 Larona Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio

Rotary International,
211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

School World-Friendship League,
Brawley, Imperial County, Calif.

United States Chamber of Commerce,
1615 H St., Washington, D. C.

War Resisters' League,
171 West 12th St., New York City

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
1805 H St., Washington, D. C.
Pennsylvania branch, 1924 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Women's Peace Society,
20 Vesey St., New York City

Women's Peace Union,
39 Pearl St., New York City

World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches,
70 Fifth Ave., New York City

World Federation of Education Associations,
Dr. Augustus Thomas, Augusta, Maine

World League of International Education Associations,
529 Phelan Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.

World Peace Foundation,
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

World Unity Foundation,
4 East 12th St., New York City

World's Student Christian Federation,
347 Madison Ave., New York City

Young Men's Christian Association,
347 Madison Ave., New York City

Young Women's Christian Association,
600 Lexington Ave., New York City

A List of Denominational Peace Committees

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